The American's Creed

"I Believe in the United States of America as a government of the people, by the people, for the people; whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a republic; a sovereign nation of many sovereign States; a perfect union, one and inseparable, established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes. ¶ I therefore believe it is my duty to my country to love it; to support its Constitution; to obey its laws; to respect its Flag and to defend it against all enemies."

—William Tyler Page

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A HISTORY

OF

THE UNITED STATES

FOR THE GRAMMAR GRADES

BY

ROBERT GREEN HALL

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AND

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PREFACE

The aim of this book is not merely to compile the principal events in the history of our country accurately and concisely, but to relate as a continuing story the circumstances, endeavors, and achievements that mark the struggles and the progress of the republic. Therefore, in the organization of the subject-matter the authors have followed the logical development of American activities, instead of mechanically grouping the occurrences of the times under presidential administrations or other mere chronological divisions. They have striven to reflect from paragraph to paragraph and from chapter to chapter the causal relations that lie beneath the surface and thereby to furnish a narrative that will sustain the student's attention and interest.

Geography is the essential background of history and throughout the book careful attention is paid to the physical features of the country which the American people have possessed and which features in turn have exerted a marked influence of environment upon their conduct and development. The construction and operation of the government are revealed by simple facts easy of understanding, and short biographical sketches of many of our great countrymen are given because personalities interest the child and adult alike, and because the lives of leaders typify the people they lead. Deeds of heroism and human interest have been related as space would allow. The labors of peace no less than the strife of conflict show forth the spirit, the character, and the growth of a people,

and particular stress is laid upon social and economic history as revealing the most potential forces in the evolution of a nation and the most important factors in the prosperity and happiness of its people.

In the preparation of the text a careful study of many sources was made and many authorities were consulted, including books of like character to this, those designed for high school and college use, and the more extended standard works on history. The authors are indebted to several friends for information and helpful criticisms, and special acknowledgment is made to Dr. Eugene C. Barker, Professor of History in the University of Texas, for advice upon points of historical dispute or uncertainty.

THE AUTHORS.

SUGGESTIONS TO TEACHERS

Assignment of Lessons. In the teaching of history the pupil should be given a proper appreciation of the facts in our country's development and of their relative importance; but chiefly should he be taught correct habits in learning, for many of the facts will be forgotten, while the mental habits will remain as a part of his equipment for life. The textbook is to be used as the guide and background for class exercises, and it is particularly necessary that the teacher, before assigning lessons to the class, get a grasp of a whole period, its organization and proportion as presented in the text.

Importance of Geography and Map Work. To aid the pupil in seeing the close connection between geography and history, the configuration of the land should be carefully studied, and every event in the political geography should be brought out distinctly in the lesson. Maps and map work are indispensable features to successful history teaching. Wall maps and atlases are valuable aids, but where these can not be obtained, blackboard outlines and colored chalk will be found an excellent substitute. The maps in the text are designed to aid in historical geography, and these should be carefully studied and used for class discussion. The pupil should have outline maps, and note books, such as are prepared by the publishers, and should fill in the events and places mentioned in the text.

The Recitation. The recitation is the most vital thing in history teaching, for here the teacher comes in closest contact with the pupil. History should not be taught as a mass of unrelated facts simply to be memorized; it

should be presented as a connected whole, a chain of causes and effects that appeal to the understanding. The topical method is an excellent means of developing fluency and readiness of expression and of teaching the pupil the power of grasping and holding each branch of a subject. Without the use of questions—and these should be searching and illuminating—no recitation can fully accomplish its purpose. As an aid to teacher and pupil alike "Thought Questions" are placed at the end of each chapter. These are to test the pupil's understanding of the subject matter and to provoke thought.

Use of the Outline. Topical analyses or outlines are excellent for the purpose of showing the history as a logical and connected whole. This book is especially well adapted for the development of the outline as the paragraph headings keep the essential facts prominent. But on the printed page it is impossible to show the relation of the topics one to another. The outline is valuable for the mental discipline it affords the pupil; it teaches him to discriminate between essentials and non-essentials; it stimulates the habit of comparison and it cultivates the judgment. The successful teacher uses many methods, plans, and devices to accomplish his purpose; the best results being obtained by a judicious selection of questions, topics, outlines, and written reviews.

Reviews. In every recitation there should be a rapid review of previous work that bears upon the day's lessons. As soon as a chapter or a period of the history is covered, several days should be given entirely to review. This may be from different standpoints. If the purpose is to fix important dates in the mind the review may be chronological. Certain dates that stand for great landmarks in the history should be assigned and the pupil be

required to associate the chief event with each date and around it to group minor events. The review may be biographical or geographical and noteworthy events are accordingly to be associated either with the names of individuals or of places. Such reviews as these are necessarily fragmentary. A more connected review is to take up some one subject, as the tariff or the means of transportation, and trace it through a period or several periods of the history. Short compositions on famous men or on great events strongly impress the facts of history on the memory. Simple historical charts, representing successive additions of territory or states carved out of the different parts of the public domain can easily be made by the pupil; they make a good written exercise and a good review. The list of important dates and the several tables to be found in the Appendix will prove valuable aids in review work.

Outside Reading. Reading outside the textbook is a great benefit in teaching history. There are several good books which contain extended bibliographies—as, Channing, Hart, and Turner, *Guide to American History;* Hindsdale, *How to Teach History;* Bourne, *The Teaching of History and Civics in the Elementary and Secondary Schools.* The teacher should have access to at least one of these. He should, if possible, provide himself with a few good books on history more extended than the text. By means of facts gathered from outside reading, the teacher can add vivid human touches and wonderful picturesqueness to the events narrated in the lessons, and the interest and enthusiasm of the class will be quickened. A list of interesting literary selections is given at the close of each period, and these may be used to supplement the text in a manner that will be beneficial to both teacher and pupil.

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History of the United States

PART I

EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY

PERIOD I.—DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION

1492-1588

CHAPTER I

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

Geographical Knowledge in the Fifteenth Century. In the fifteenth century the center of the civilization of the world was Southern and Western Europe, but even there the knowledge of geography was limited. The earth, it was thought, consisted of only Europe, Asia, North Africa, and a few islands of the neighboring seas. Man had learned to navigate the adjacent waters, but as yet he had not pushed far out into the great oceans that stretched away into an unknown "Sea of Darkness" which navigators feared to penetrate and which the minds of the ignorant filled with hideous monsters. There were vast undiscovered lands and strange peoples of whom civilized man knew nothing.

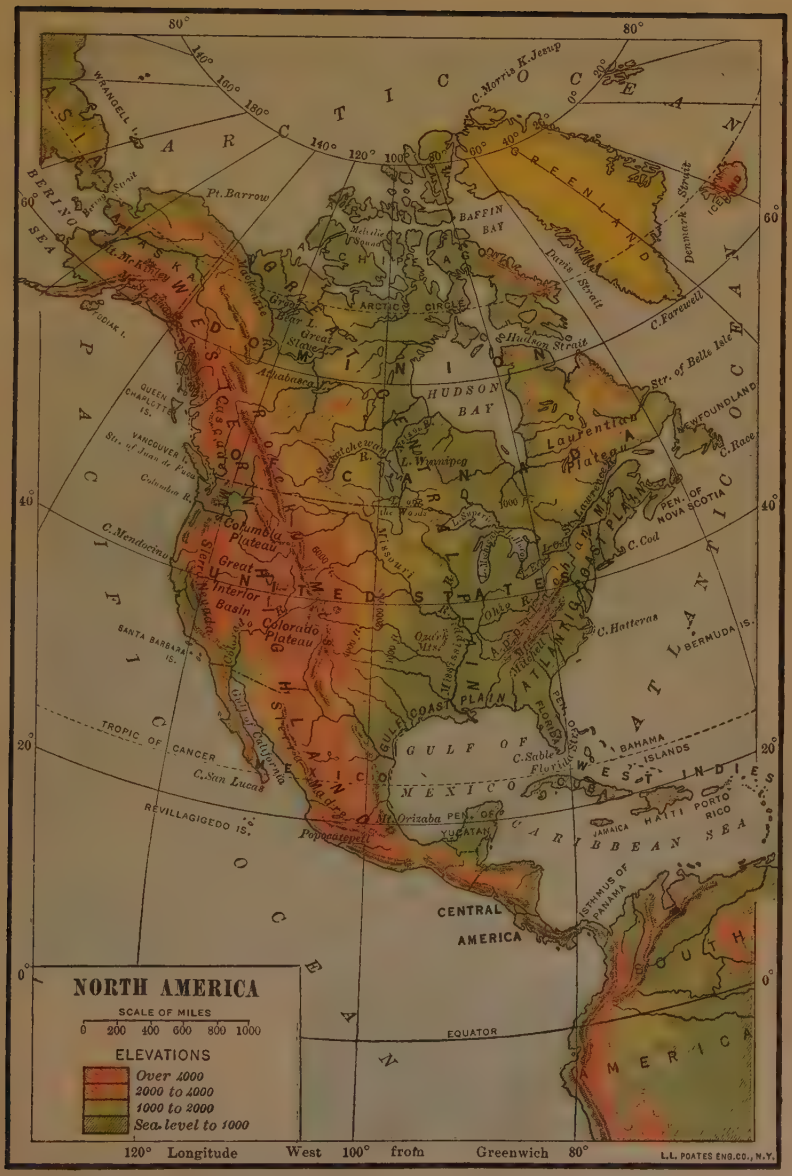
Shape and Size of North America. North America, the part of these far-away lands with which our history is concerned, is shaped like a triangle, pointed to the south. Three different oceans bound the three sides. The frozen Arctic lies to the north; the eastern shore is washed by the waters of the Atlantic, and it is indented by bays and gulfs and by

broad river mouths that serve as fine harbors and that seemed to welcome the early mariners. On the west the Pacific washes a coast of such remarkable regularity that only three important harbors are found throughout its whole extent. In size North America ranks third among the continents of the earth.

The Atlantic Coastal Plain. Stretching inland from the Atlantic coast as far south as the Hudson River is a narrow

THE KNOWN WORLD IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

rugged strip of country abounding in water-falls. South of the Hudson this plain gradually widens and then turns westward along the Gulf of Mexico. Its average width is about two hundred miles, and it is watered by many rivers of great length, running lazily down to the sea. The land is fertile, comparatively little broken, and well adapted to farming. Almost parallel with the Atlantic coast line lie



PHYSICAL FEATURES OF NORTH AMERICA

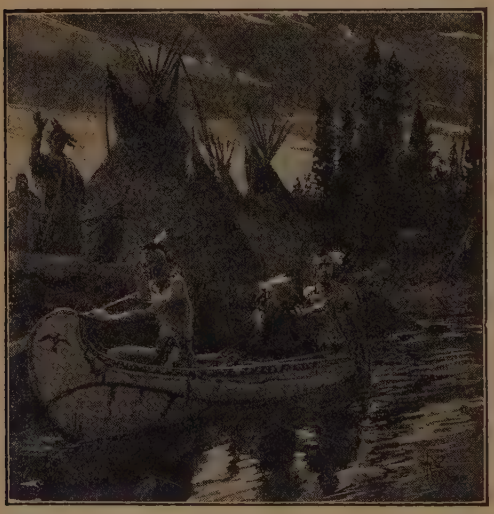
the Appalachian Mountains, extending from southeastern Canada to Alabama, a distance of nearly two thousand miles. The average elevation of these mountains is two thousand feet. Mt. Mitchell in North Carolina, with an elevation of six thousand, six hundred and eighty feet, is the highest point. These mountain slopes at the time of the discovery were clothed with immense forests of pine, spruce, and oak.

The Great Central Plain. The Appalachian Plateau merges into the vast low central plain which is drained partly northeastward, but chiefly toward the south through the Mississippi and its tributaries into the Gulf of Mexico. Nowhere on the globe is there another such fertile region. It has almost every variety of soil and climate, and is watered by grand rivers that flow eastward or westward and pay their tribute to the noble "Father of Waters." The northern part of this area and the southern, as far west as the Ozark Mountains, were covered originally by forests of deciduous trees and the evergreens, pine and spruce. The central part stretches westward into rolling prairies, and still farther beyond are the great plains, high and dry, that afforded pasturage for countless herds of buffaloes.

The Western Highland. The western highland consists of lofty mountain ranges and high plateaus. First, there are the Rockies, the tallest mountains of the continent, many of the peaks being over 14,000 feet above the level of the sea. Beyond the Rocky Mountains are the plateaus of the Columbia and Colorado and the great interior basin of the far west. This basin receives very scanty rainfall, and the water collects in pools and salt lakes, which have no outlets. The largest of these inland lakes is the Great Salt Lake. To the west are the snow-capped Sierra Nevada and Cascade Ranges, and still beyond across a beautiful and fertile

valley is the Coast Range of mountains, which seem to rise almost out of the Pacific Ocean, with only a narrow plain between the mountains and the sea. The Pacific slope, unlike the Atlantic, has but few large rivers, and many of these rush through gorges and cañons. This whole region is a treasure-house of mineral wealth. Connecting mountains, hills, and plains at the time of discovery were trails of the Indians and wild animals and water-ways on which the Indians traveled from place to place in dugouts and birch-bark canoes. Many an old Indian trail is now the route for some trunk-line railroad.

The Indians. In this wonderful unknown land many surprises awaited the explorer. Strange birds chattered in the trees; strange plants covered the soil; strange animals lurked in the forests and roamed over the plains; but stranger than all were the people who were the primitive inhabitants. These natives of America were called Indians by the early explorers who supposed they had reached India when they sailed westward across the Atlantic from Europe. Where these Indians came from, and how long they had been in America before the coming of the white man, are questions that have never been satis-

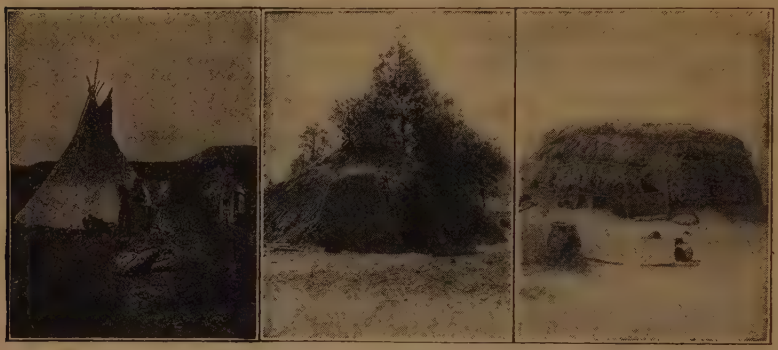


INDIAN SIGN OF PEACE BETWEEN THOSE OF THE WIGWAM AND THOSE OF THE CANOE

factorily answered. In many parts of America there have been discovered thousands of mounds. Some of them are shaped like animals; others seem to be village sites; and still others, places of burial. Many relics, such as pottery, kettles, pipes, axes, arrowheads, etc., have been found in some of them. It has been supposed that the mound builders were people who lived in America before the Indians, but we have no proof that they were a different race. The typical Indian is tall, graceful, and well built. His skin is reddish-brown or copper-colored, his cheek bones high, his eyes small and dark, his hair straight, black, and coarse, and his beard scanty. The Indians were scattered thinly over the whole continent. Some of the tribes enjoyed a comparatively high degree of civilization, whereas others had scarcely emerged from savagery. In Mexico, the Aztec Indians had reached a high state of culture. They had their cities and their temples; they worked in pottery and in metals. In South America the native civilization was at its greatest height. But the Indians that have affected most the early history of our country are the Algonquin family, composed of a number of tribes, living along the northern Atlantic coast and inland as far west as the Mississippi; the "Five Nations" of the Iroquois living between Lake Erie and the Hudson; the Cherokees, a tribe of the Iroquois family that had become separated and settled in the country surrounding the present site of Chattanooga, Tennessee; and the Muskogee family, which includes the intelligent and warlike tribes of the Choctaws, Creeks, and Chickasaws who have been called the civilized tribes.

Life and Occupations of Indians. Indian buildings varied with the material available in the different sections of the country. In one section was found the bark or skin-covered *wigwam,* or sometimes the long wooden house, in which

many families lived; in another section the *grass lodge;* in another, the *hogan* or earth-covered poles; in another the



WIGWAM HOGAN KEYE

INDIAN DWELLINGS

brush *keye* or *wickyup;* and in the more highly civilized sections, one-, two-, and three-story houses of sun-dried

INDIAN PUEBLO.—ONE OF THE SEVEN CITIES OF CIBOLA SOUGHT BY THE SPANIARDS

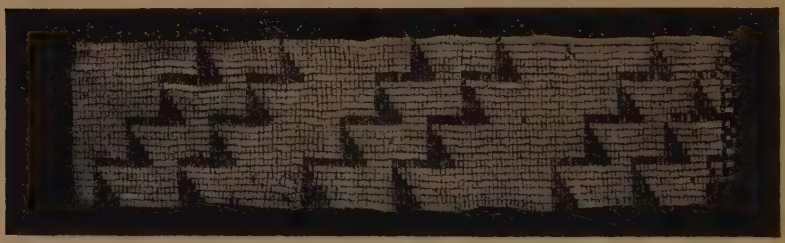
brick or stone built into pueblos or villages. In the far southwest, clinging to the sides of the cliffs and almost

inaccessible, are hundreds of buildings called cliff dwellings which are supposed to be places of refuge to which the Pueblo Indians fled for safety in time of war.

For the most part the Indian was content with small possessions. He was fond of singing, of games and sport; he delighted to sit with his family in the evening, smoking his pipe and telling stories of the great deeds of his tribe. He liked to hunt and fish, knew how to imitate the sounds of birds and the cries of animals, and could glide through the forest as noiselessly and almost as swiftly as the deer. Though his work in agriculture was of the most primitive sort and the individual fields were little more than patches, he had developed maize (Indian corn) into four edible varieties and was growing it from Central South America to the fifty-fourth parallel of north latitude. This, the only cereal native to the country, was grown in sufficient quantities to prove of untold value to the early settlers and explorers. Not only did it frequently save the lives of the colonists as we shall learn later, but it made possible the sustenance of the exploring Spanish armies for months at a time and for journeys covering many hundred miles. In one war the whites destroyed at one time for one tribe a million bushels of corn (probably in the ear), and at another one hundred and sixty thousand bushels for another tribe. The Indians had also developed a wild tuber into what is known as the Irish potato, a gourd into the squash of our gardens, some wild plant into an edible bean, and another into a melon; cotton was grown and woven into colored cloths which Coronado has described as of great beauty. Little cornfields and tobacco patches were usually tilled by women or squaws, who also dressed skins, dried meat, and made clothing and moccasins for the hunter and warrior.

The Indians, for all their backwardness in the arts known to the white man, possessed no little inventive skill. They manufactured their hatchets or tomahawks of stone, their arrowheads of flint, and their clubs for war or chase. They wove baskets, made pottery and some cloths of beautiful design and coloring, and carved pipes and utensils with rare handicraft. They had long, tapering snowshoes which enabled them to skim over the snow sometimes at the rate of forty miles a day.

Wampum, made of small shells strung together, served a number of purposes. Sometimes it was made into belts



WAMPUM

and used as an ornament; often upon these wampum belts the treaties between the tribes and the laws of the tribes were recorded. The color and pattern of the belt varied according to the purpose for which it was employed. Wampum was also used as money. The Indian's birch-bark canoe, perhaps his most useful invention, was made by stripping off the bark in one piece and fitting it over a light wooden frame.

The Indian as a Warrior. The Indian tribes were much given to war. At first glance it might appear that this was their chief aim in life. But when we recall that the history of civilized peoples is largely of wars and the conquests of one nation or one people by another, we shall realize that

after all the Indian was not very different from those who are pleased to boast of their superior civilization. The Indian's weapons were bows and arrows, clubs, tomahawks, and stone knives. His endurance in war as in the chase was marvelous. When captured by his enemy, the most cruel treatment could not force a cry from his lips, and with his last breath he would defiantly chant his death song. He excelled in physical courage, but, like most primitive peoples, he was inclined to treachery in dealing with his foes. He preferred to fight his enemy, not in open field, but to surprise him from behind trees, or to steal upon him in the dead of night and fall upon his victim with blood-curdling yells. He tortured his captives in every way that cruelty could devise; it was not uncommon to bind them to a stake and burn them. He thought that war was best brought to a speedy end, so he undertook to exterminate his enemy, and often he spared not even women and children. He measured his prowess by the number of scalps or prisoners brought from the contest.

Religion of the Indians. The Indians were intensely religious. They believed that spirits or manitous governed the world. They worshiped, also, the sun and the stars, the rivers and the mountains. The rustle of the leaves, the rolling of the thunder, and the whisper of the grasses all revealed to the red man the spirits of another world. To overcome evil spirits was the duty of his priests or medicine men, who sometimes danced about the fire for ten or twelve hours at a time, making hideous noises and laboring to exorcise the demons of the air. The Indians believed in a future life where the warrior would go to the "Happy Hunting Grounds," and there with his dog, his bow and arrows, and his tomahawk he would enjoy all the pleasures, and suffer none of the sorrows, of this life.

Indian Government. The Indians were loosely banded together into tribes, and many such blood-related tribes would make a big family or stock. These tribes held their lands in common, for the Indian had no conception of ownership of property as the white man understands it. The Indian's personal belongings were his own, but all other possessions were regarded as common. It is important to remember this fact in future recitals of land transactions between the whites and the Indians. While some of the settlers in good faith "bought" the lands from the Indians, we now understand, if the settlers did not then, that in the Indian's conception of the trade he was granting to the white man only the right to occupy the land with him. In no sense did he mean to part with his own rights to reside within the territory of his fathers.

The tribe consisted of clans, which were bound together by ties of kinship. Each clan had its name, usually that of some animal or plant, which became the emblem or "totem" of the group, and was sacred to all of its members. Some tribes had their totem poles placed in the front of their chief's wigwam, and recorded on it in crude carving the story of their achievements. Others had the totem painted on the sides and roofs of their rude houses. Every clan had its sachem or civil ruler, who was elected by the members, and at least one war chief who was chosen to lead on the field of battle. The sachems and chiefs of all the clans of a tribe met in council to consider important matters.

The Indian and the White Man. While the Indians were savages, they possessed many qualities of civilization and in their undisturbed relations they were peaceful and kindly. In many respects they were like children; in others they were noble. They welcomed the first white men and were well disposed toward the settlers until they found them-

selves mistreated or threatened with dispossession. They seldom, if ever, practiced their cruelties upon the whites without provocation. Many of the early explorers and colonists in their dealings with the Indians practiced deception, and always the tendency of the white man was to encroach upon the Indians and possess their lands by fair means or foul. It was when the white man set up customs that they could not understand and trespassed upon what they considered their inheritance that they developed the fury of trapped animals and paid injury with cruelty and unfairness with massacre. While there is much in the record of our dealings with the Indians to be excused on the ground of necessary progress in the interest of human development, there is more that makes us blush.

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

1. What might have been the effect on discovery and explorations were the Atlantic and Pacific sea-boards reversed?
2. Name some plants and animals native to North America.
3. Point out the best water-ways from the Atlantic to the Mississippi.
4. Describe the different dwellings of the Indians.
5. What Indian tribes are prominent in the history of your state?

CHAPTER II

DISCOVERIES AND EXPLORATIONS

The Norsemen in America. The Norsemen, bold sea rovers from the Scandinavian lands, were the first to push out into that "Sea of Darkness" which separated Europe from the land we have just described. In the ninth and tenth centuries they had ventured far to the westward and had discovered Iceland and Greenland. Lief Ericson with a small crew reached the coast of North America in the year 1000. He called the country Vinland from the grapes he found growing wild. But these early visitors left no trace of their discoveries and nothing came of the adventure.

Trade Relations. For immemorial ages Europe, Asia, and North Africa had been in communication with each other and had interchanged their products in the ordinary course of trade. The European used the spices of the Indies to make his coarse food more palatable; the fine fabrics of Cathay (China) and India were in demand for his garments, and the gold and precious gems of these far-away lands of the East were coveted by monarchs and nobles. The Mediterranean Sea was the great highway of traffic in those days. It was thronged with sailing vessels that carried to Constantinople, Venice, and Genoa cargoes of valuable wares gathered at the western ports of Asia from a vast region covered by tedious and perilous routes of overland transportation.

Marco Polo. A more comprehensive and more nearly accurate knowledge of the Far East had been obtained from travelers, the best known of whom in that period was Marco Polo, a wealthy merchant of Venice, who went as

far east as China. The journey covered many years, and an old chronicle tells us that when he reached home he took from the seams of his clothes the profits of his trip in the form of rubies, sapphires, emeralds, and diamonds. Marco Polo wrote an account of his travels, and as printing was invented soon afterwards the circulation of the book was comparatively easy. The chronicle told of the fabulous wealth of the East, of streams filled with gold, of towered cities, and busy harbors on the far-away ocean of Asia, where hundreds of ships laden with precious wares of the Orient came and went each year.

MARCO POLO

Fall of Constantinople. By the close of the fifteenth century Constantinople and all southeastern Europe were under the dominion of the fanatical and barbarous Turks. They were Mohammedans and despised Christians. They were warriors and had a contempt for traders. They refused to allow the merchants of the west to pass through their territory and thus cut off from Europe the trade which for many generations had brought wealth to her cities. As a consequence of this interruption of traffic, commercial minds of that day began to consider whether there might not be found some other route to the "land where the spices grow."

Revival of Learning. This blocking of the eastern trade routes was the prelude to that great revival of learning known to history and literature as the Renaissance which came at the close of the Middle Ages. There had been a long period of ignorance and superstition from which at length the people of the Old World were aroused as if by an intellectual resurrection. This was the time when printing was invented and when the mariner's compass and gunpowder came into use. By the fifteenth century scholars generally accepted the theory that the earth is round and not flat, as the ancients believed. Marco Polo had seen a vast ocean east of India; there was a vast ocean west of Europe, and geographers reached the opinion that they were one and the same. If that were so, then the Indies, they concluded, could be reached by sailing westward.

European Conditions. But where was the nation wealthy enough and who were the seamen bold enough to undertake such an enterprise? Italy had been the great commercial country of the Middle Ages, but she was divided into petty warring states, and now, with the trade routes closed, her wealth was diminishing. Although other nations contributed the money and the ships for the great enterprise, it was Italy's sons who furnished the greater part of the courage and knowledge necessary for the momentous undertaking. Germany, too, consisted of a number of little states almost constantly engaged in civil strife. France and England had been at war with each other for a century, and each had been involved in domestic broils. The Scandinavian countries had been wasted by internal disorder. Holland at this time was under the dominion of Spain, and the latter had been engaged for centuries in expelling the Moors from her borders. Thus the countries of Europe were ill prepared for the work of discovery. The first to

take up the great task of finding a new way to India was the little kingdom of Portugal.

Prince Henry. About 1420 an illustrious prince of that country, known as "Prince Henry the Navigator," set himself seriously to the opening of a new trade route to India, and his efforts were directed toward the south and east around Africa. Gradually his hardy mariners, emboldened by the faithful needle, gained more and more courage as they pushed farther down the African coast and found neither fiery zone nor boiling seas filled with devouring monsters. Prince Henry's conception of the land formation of Africa was verified in the voyage of Vasco da Gama around the southern cape in 1498 long after the death of the Portuguese Navigator.

Christopher Columbus. Six years before Da Gama's voyage Christopher Columbus, sailing for Spain, sought a westward route. This great navigator was the son of a poor woolen weaver in Genoa, and there in that beautiful Italian city he was born about the year 1446. He early took to the sea while geography and nautical science became his lifelong studies. His first voyage began, when he was fourteen, with the captains of Prince Henry the Navigator, and at twenty-one he was rated as a skilled mariner. About 1470 he took up his residence at Lisbon, Portugal, where for a time he worked as a maker of maps and made occasional voyages.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

It was in Portugal that Columbus conceived the great plan which henceforth was to be the work of his life. With other advanced thinkers of his day he believed he could reach the Indies by sailing westward and he resolved to accomplish the task, but he lacked the means for such an enterprise. Therefore, he sought the aid of the various sovereigns of Europe. He appealed first to Portugal, but that nation was hopeful of finding a route around Africa, and Columbus failed to obtain a hearing from the Portuguese government.

Then he submitted the project to Ferdinand and Isabella, the sovereigns of Spain, and about the same time sent his brother Bartholomew to appeal to the king of England. Ferdinand and Isabella were little impressed by the representations of one whom they regarded as a dreamer, and gave him slight attention. From Spain he turned to France and set upon his weary way on foot. Stopping at a convent to beg for food and water, he told his story to the kindly abbot, who appreciated the undertaking and immediately became his advocate before Ferdinand and Isabella. The eloquent priest moved the queen as Columbus had been unable to do. She was converted to the project, and, assisted by powerful friends, defrayed the expenses of the voyage.

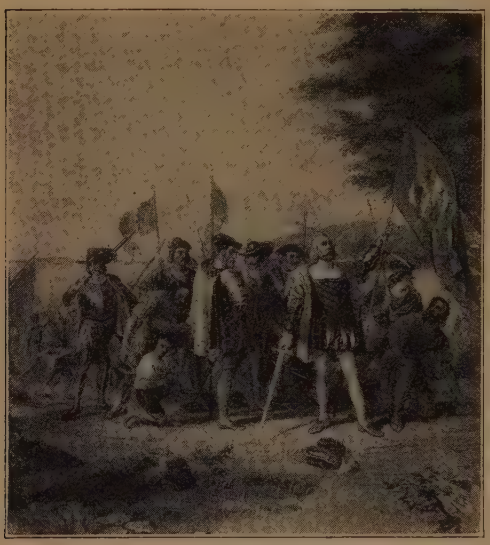
The Voyage. In the harbor of Palos, a little town of Southwestern Spain, the fleet of three small ships, the *Santa Maria,* the *Pinta,* and the *Niña* lay riding at anchor in the early dawn of August 3, 1492. This was the equipment furnished by the Queen of Spain for the great enterprise. Under a contract, Columbus, who was made high admiral, was to enjoy a share of all the profits of the undertaking. A motley crew of about one hundred men, many of them convicts who had been released on the con-

dition that they embark upon this voyage, had been gathered together. Two experienced seamen, the Pinzon brothers, were engaged to command the *Pinta* and the *Niña,* while the *Santa Maria* was the flagship under command of the admiral himself. At last the little fleet set sail and left behind a weeping and wailing company of relatives and friends who feared they were taking their last look at the daring voyagers.

THE CARAVELS OF COLUMBUS AS REPRODUCED FOR THE COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION AT CHICAGO

Columbus directed his course southwest to the Canaries, where he tarried a few weeks; and then, at the close of the first week in September, he plunged, with his three small ships, nearly due westward into the uncharted waste of waters. All went well at the starting, but as the voyage stretched into weeks the strain of anxiety taxed the skeptical crew to the utmost. Soon there was a secret murmuring, and then open grumbling, and finally the sailors threatened to throw the admiral overboard and turn back. But Columbus, never daunted, now coaxed, now threatened, now appealed to his men with promises of great wealth and glory in store for them. Nevertheless, Columbus himself was considerably puzzled, though his faith in the undertaking never faltered. He kept two records of his voyage, a false one for the crew and a true one for himself, and the true record showed that he had traveled 2,700 miles and still there was no land in sight.

Land Discovered. Changing his course slightly the admiral steered to the southwest, and on October 11, he observed unmistakable signs of land. Birds known to live only on land circled around the ships, green twigs and weeds floated on the water, and a piece of rudely carved wood was picked up. On the same night Columbus saw a faint light in the distance moving to and fro, and in the morning a low-lying shore was disclosed to his gaze.



LANDING OF COLUMBUS

Soon after daybreak the crew cast anchor, and Columbus, richly dressed and bearing the royal banner of Spain, put out to the shore in a small boat accompanied by the Pinzons and a few others. He leaped upon the land and falling upon his knees thanked God that the desire of his heart was at last realized, for, as he believed, a new way had been found to India. In the name of the Most High and of his gracious sovereigns of Spain, he took possession of the land, which he called San Salvador (Holy Savior).

He had not reached India as he thought, but had come upon one of the islands of the Bahama group, probably Watling Island, called Guanahani by the natives. These copper-hued people, whom Columbus called Indians, came

flocking to the beach at the sight of the strange vessels, which they thought to be gigantic white-winged birds, and gave reverential welcome to the visitors, who they thought were messengers from heaven.

From San Salvador Columbus sailed southward where the natives had indicated he might find gold. He discovered Cuba and Hayti, and then prepared for the return voyage. He carried back with him several Indians and some of the products of the new lands. The return passage was stormy and the little *Niña,* now his only vessel, plowed her way back through the threatening sea, carrying a company filled with rejoicing.[1] Columbus feared at one time that the little ship would be lost, and he prepared two records of his achievements. One of these he sealed in a cask bearing the arms and names of the sovereigns of Spain, and this he consigned to the waves, hoping it might reach Spain; but the brave little boat weathered the storms and at last anchored in the harbor of Palos.

The people of Spain welcomed the victorious mariners with great applause, and gave themselves over to a long, joyous holiday in honor of the great man who "loosed the barriers of the ocean" for Spain. The king and queen heaped many honors upon Columbus and throughout the civilized world his achievement became the topic of greatest interest.

Other Voyages of Columbus. During the happy days which followed, the admiral was preparing for another voyage. In all he made four journeys to the New World and discovered the chief islands of the West Indies, the northern coast of South America, and Honduras in Central America. But Columbus took back to Spain neither

[1]The *Santa Maria* had run aground, and Pinzon, with the *Pinta,* had become separated from the *Niña.*

gold, nor spices, nor the precious gems of the Orient. Besides, he proved himself to be an incapable executive and made many mistakes in the administration of his enterprises. His exploits excited the envy of other men who magnified his shortcomings and poisoned the minds of the king and queen against him.

COUNTRY DISCOVERED BY COLUMBUS

He was brought back from his third voyage in chains, and returned from his last without material success. He was finally deserted by all but his immediate family and died May 20, 1506, in poverty and neglect. His firm belief to the day of his death was that he had reached the eastern coast of Asia and had opened a new trade route to the Indies. But his error in nowise lessens the glory of his achievement and his tragic end demonstrates the lack of appreciation which the world too often shows its daring souls.

AMERICUS VESPUCIUS

America Named. After Columbus had shown the way

others were quick to make voyages across the western sea in search of wealth and in hope of conquest. Among these was Americus Vespucius, an Italian, living in Spain, who is known to have made three voyages to the South American coasts. Vespucius published an account of what he had seen, and described a strange new world to the south of the Indies. His account fell into the hands of a German geographer who suggested that the new world be named "America" in his honor. It was still believed that the lands of the north were islands lying off the coast of Asia and the discovery of Vespucius was supposed to be a new world. Balboa and Magellan had yet to prove that not only a new world had been discovered but that another ocean vaster than the Atlantic lay between Europe and the Indies of the East.

JOHN CABOT

John Cabot. Neither Columbus nor Vespucius was the first to discover North America; that honor belongs to still another son of Italy, John Cabot, who sailed under the English flag. When the news reached England that Columbus had succeeded in his enterprise, the king regretted having turned a deaf ear to Bartholomew, the brother of Columbus, and readily granted to Cabot a permit to discover lands in the west. In 1497 Cabot reached the North American coast and landed somewhere in Labrador. The voyagers soon returned, but carried back with them neither gold nor spices. Many years later, when

the world came to know that a new continent had been found, England laid claim to the whole of North America by virtue of Cabot's discovery.

FERDINAND MAGELLAN

Balboa and Magellan. We must remember that the primary aim of Europe was not to discover a new continent, but a route to the "land of the spices." Most of the explorers endeavored to pass through or go around these new-found islands and as a consequence there were many explorations of the coast line and river mouths, which led to the discovery of that great ocean to the west, and, finally, to the demonstration of the real physical form of the New World. Balboa, a Spaniard, was the first to view the great ocean west of America, which we now know as the Pacific. Hunting pearls and gold, he reached the Isthmus of Panama, which lies nearly east and west. Pushing from the northward to the southward, he ascended the mountains, and there, in 1513, beheld the great expanse of the new ocean which he called the South Sea. But not until 1519 did the Spanish venture upon this new water. Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese sailor in the service of Spain, still believed that a shorter

route could be found to the Indies than that which Vasco da Gama had sailed around Africa in 1498. In a daring voyage Magellan followed the coast line of South America to the south, passed through the straits that now bear his name, and pressed onward into the great placid ocean, Balboa's South Sea, which he called the Pacific. Still pushing westward he discovered the Philippine Islands, where he was killed in a fight with the natives. The remnant of his crew, in one remaining vessel, reached Spain by way of the Indian Ocean and the Cape of Good Hope in 1522. This was the first circumnavigation of the globe.

The Spaniards in the South. The Spaniards early made settlements in the West Indies, but finding no gold there they used these islands as a base of operation for further explorations westward. During the first half of the sixteenth century these adventurers had penetrated to the north and west and to the south over an area greater by far than the whole of Europe. Ponce de Leon explored northward in search of a fabled land where the natives told him he would find a wonderful "Fountain of Perpetual Youth." He reached land Easter Sunday, 1513, and named it Florida, or the Land of Easter.[1] Ponce de Leon lost his life in a fight with the Indians while wandering through the forests in a fruitless search for the magical fountain that was to restore youth to the aged and life to the dying.

Hernando Cortez at about the same time conquered Mexico, the Aztec kingdom, with its cities, temples, and palaces, and gave to Spain this province of great wealth in gold and other minerals. His success inspired others to explore northern, southern, and western lands in search of fame and fortune.

To the south of the Isthmus Francisco Pizarro conquered

[1]Easter is called in Spanish *Pascua de Florida*—festival of flowers.

Peru and added another province of untold wealth to Spain. An expedition under Narvaez, lured by reports of gold and towered cities among the Indies along the Gulf Coast, came to a disastrous end. Some of the adventurers were shipwrecked and others were killed by hostile Indians. One of the survivors, Cabeza de Vaca, landed on the Texas coast and spent six years wandering among the natives, at last reaching the Spanish settlements in northern Mexico. He was the first white man to set foot on Texas soil.

HERNANDO CORTEZ

Equally disastrous was an expedition by De Soto, another Spanish adventurer who sought wealth in the new world. He marched northward from Florida as far as South Carolina and thence westward into Tennessee, where from the bluffs he beheld the Mississippi, the great "Father of Waters." De Soto crossed this river and proceeded onward in search of treasure, but he found nothing but primeval forests and hostile Indians. At last, worn out with the hopelessness of it all and sick with a wasting fever, he died and his body was sunk in the waters of the Mississippi.

Within a day's journey of De Soto's route was another Spanish explorer, Coronado who, having heard the stories of Cabeza de Vaca, set out from Northern Mexico in search of gold and the far-famed "Seven Cities of Cibola." He went as far as what is now Kansas and found nothing of

value or interest except Indian villages, broad prairies, and huge "crooked-back cows" or buffaloes.

Spanish Settlements. The failure of these explorers to discover gold or other treasure caused the Spaniards to lose interest in what is now the southern part of the United

DE SOTO AND HIS MEN AT THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

States, and thereafter to center their attention on the mineral wealth of Mexico and Peru. Many settlements were made in these countries, in Central America, and along the northern and western coast of South America. Spain finally established St. Augustine in 1565 on the eastern coast of Florida, but this was due to the encroachments of France which endangered Spanish settlements in the west and imperiled the passage of Spanish treasure ships from Mexico through the Gulf. By 1605 Santa Fe, New Mexico, was founded.

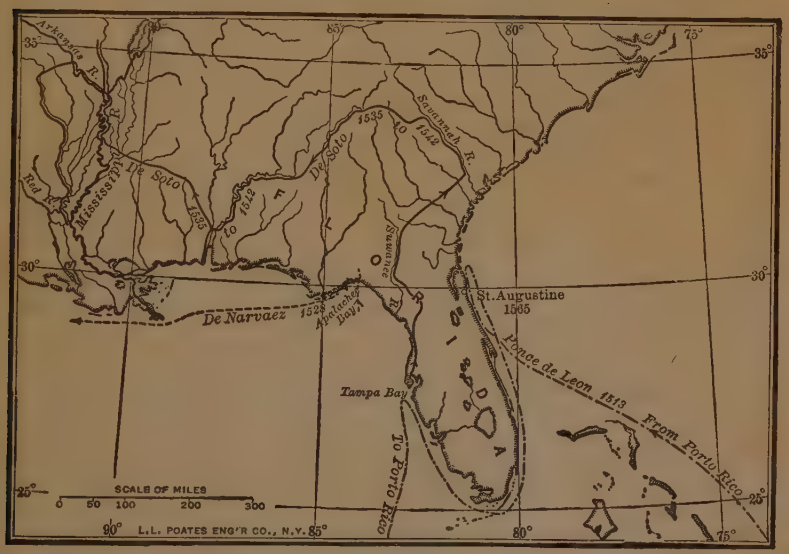
French Discoveries. During this period of discovery and exploration the chief energies of France were employed

either in foreign warfare or in quieting internal strife. Nevertheless, the French seamen made some discoveries and after many unsuccessful attempts founded colonies in America. Verrazano, a native of Florence, was sent out in 1524 to find a passage to China by the westward route. He explored the Atlantic coast and entered New York harbor. Ten years later Jacques Cartier set out on a similar mission. He explored the region around the Gulf of St. Lawrence and sailed up the river of that name, under the impression that he had found a direct passage to China, but was disappointed when he encountered the rapids to which he gave the name of Lachine (which means Chinese). No permanent settlement resulted from this adventure.

OLD SPANISH GATEWAY AT ST. AUGUSTINE

The French Protestants, or Huguenots, who were persecuted at home, sought for themselves a refuge on this side of the Atlantic. In 1562 they made a settlement, Port Royal, in what is now South Carolina which they soon abandoned. Two years later a second settlement was made at the mouth of the St. John River in Florida. This region was named Carolina for their king, Charles IX of France. The Spaniards regarded this settlement as a menace to their interests in the new world and sent Menendez to

destroy the colony. This he did in the most cold-blooded fashion, making a slaughter that would have shamed the most savage Indians, and St. Augustine was established to resist further encroachments by the French. The Huguenots were avenged in 1567 by Dominic de Gourges, a French soldier, who captured a number of Spaniards and hanged them to trees.



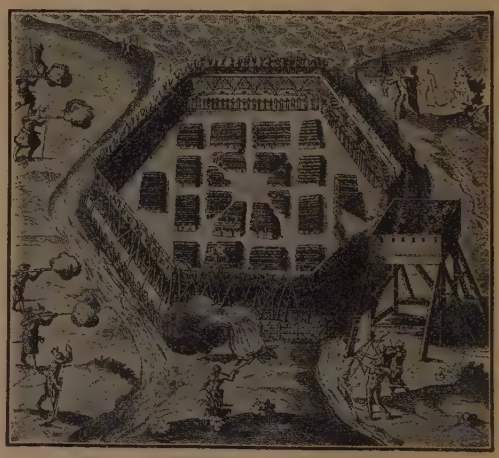
ROUTES OF SPANISH EXPLORERS

New France. The French did not gain a permanent foothold in America until the early part of the seventeenth century, when they established settlements in the region of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes. After the tragic fate of the Huguenots in the south the French directed their attention northward and in 1605 the first permanent colony was founded at Port Royal in Acadia (now Nova Scotia). The adventurous Champlain, the "Father of New

France," ascended the St. Lawrence, as Cartier had done three-quarters of a century before, and made a permanent settlement at Quebec in 1608 and three years later at Montreal. Pushing farther to the south and west, Champlain discovered in 1609 the lake that bears his name, and six years later he searched along the shores of Lake Huron for the elusive South Sea passage.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

The French and the Iroquois. In 1609 Champlain, in order to please his Indian neighbors upon the St. Lawrence and to explore the country to the south of the lakes, accompanied a band of warriors and moved against the powerful Iroquois Indians who occupied the Hudson and Mohawk valleys, which formed a gateway into the heart of the continent. With his white followers, and by means of firearms, he put to rout a band of braves belonging to the confederacy of the Five Nations. By this act he brought upon the French in America the bitter hatred of the Iroquois who



CHAMPLAIN DEFEATING THE IROQUOIS

...ked the French movement southward. Henceforth the advance of this nation was to the west.

Descent of the Mississippi. Champlain had led the way into the region of the Great Lakes and other explorers soon followed. By the middle of the seventeenth century all the Great Lakes had been explored by the French discoverers, soldiers, traders, and priests who bore the banner of France and the cross of the church far into the western wilderness. In 1673 Father Marquette, a devout Catholic missionary, in company with Joliet, an explorer and trader, reached the Mississippi by way of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers and drifted southward for hundreds of miles. They passed the muddy Missouri and the clear waters of the Ohio and terminated their journey at the mouth of the Arkansas.

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STATUE OF MARQUETTE

In 1682 La Salle, another Frenchman, completed the work thus begun and followed the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. Disembarking at the mouth of the river, La Salle took possession of the vast central basin watered by the river and its tributaries and named it Louisiana in honor of his king, Louis XIV, "the Grand Monarch," of France. The explorer realized that in order to hold this imperial domain it was necessary to establish a series of military and trading posts. He returned to France, and at his request, Louis XIV furnished him with ships, men, and

supplies to make a settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi River. But the navigator missed his reckoning and went too far to the westward and landed, in 1685, on the coast of what is now Texas. A settlement, Fort St. Louis, was made on Matagorda Bay as a base from which to search for the Mississippi. La Salle, with a few followers, undertook to reach a French fort at the mouth of the Illinois River. On this journey he was murdered by one of his companions somewhere in eastern Texas. Through this long period of discovery and exploration covering more than a century and a half, France laid the foundation for what gave promise of being a large and lasting dominion in North America.

LA SALLE

English Navigators. By the middle of the sixteenth century English navigators were venturing more boldly into the trade of the world. Animated by hatred of Spain, deep rooted in commercial rivalry and religious antagonism, they lay in wait for her treasure ships and confiscated them. Sir John Hawkins, a daring English navigator, was engaged from 1562 to 1567 in securing negroes in Africa and selling them as slaves to the Spaniards in the West Indies, although the law restricted this trade to Spain. With Hawkins was his nephew, Francis Drake, who became the greatest seaman of his age. In 1577 Drake set out with a fleet of five vessels, resolved to gain wealth and fame. Sailing to the southwest around Cape Horn and moving up

the Pacific Coast, he captured rich treasure ships, then proceeding northward discovered San Francisco Bay and took possession of the neighboring land for "Good Queen Bess," as Elizabeth was affectionately called.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

Continuing westward, he reached England again by the Cape of Good Hope. In this journey Drake completed, in 1580, the second circumnavigation of the globe. By reason of his fierce attacks on the Spaniards, the name of the "Dragon," as Drake was called, struck terror to the Spanish heart.

The Northwest Passage. England, too, was searching for the trade route to India, and her mariners were trying to reach the East by a northwest passage. Such was the idea of Martin Frobisher in exploring the waters known as Frobisher's Bay. Davis and Baffin made voyages for the same purpose and so did Henry Hudson, who was set adrift by a mutinous crew in the bay that bears his name.

Gilbert and Raleigh. Far greater than voyages to the icy north was the task of founding colonies across the sea. This was the work first conceived by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a courageous and farseeing Englishman. In 1583 he made an unsuccessful attempt to establish a colony on the bleak shores of Newfoundland. On the return voyage the great leader and many of the colonists were lost in midocean. The work which Gilbert had inaugurated was carried on by his abler half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, one of the

greatest Englishmen of his time and a born courtier, who, it is said, first won favor with the queen by spreading his velvet coat in the mud for her to walk over.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH

Instead of venturing into the wintry north Raleigh directed his attention to the milder latitudes of Chesapeake Bay, a beautiful region which Queen Elizabeth caused to be named Virginia in honor of herself, the "Virgin Queen," as she delighted to be called. In 1585 a group of one hundred colonists under Raleigh's patronage landed on Roanoke Island, the most southern of the reefs enclosing Albermarle Sound, and immediately they started to search for gold, precious gems, and the passage to India. Like others who had attempted the same quest they failed. Drake, searching for Spanish treasure ships, appeared off the coast, and the disappointed and homesick colonists welcomed the opportunity to return to England. They carried with them tobacco, which Raleigh taught the courtiers to smoke, and the Irish potato, which is a native of America, but took its name in commerce by reason of the fact that it became a staple crop in Ireland.

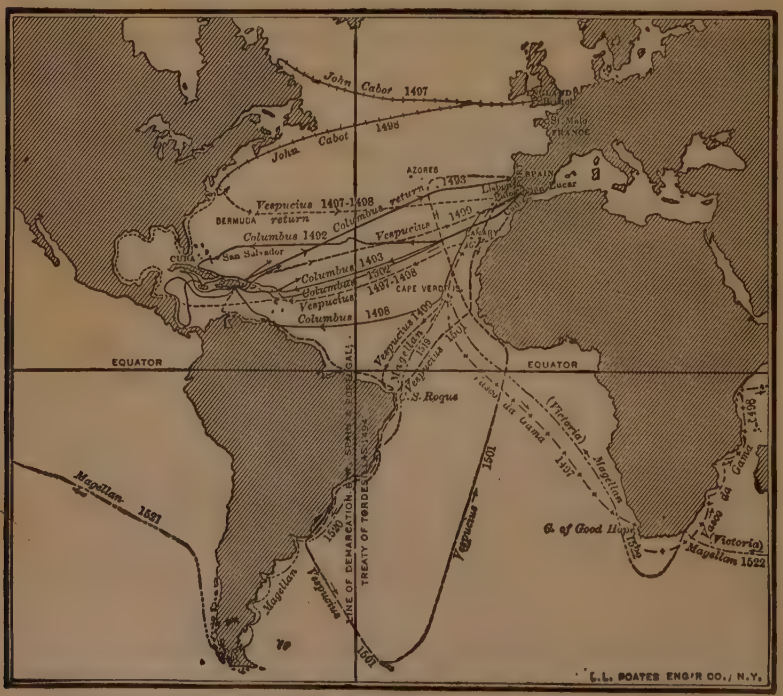
Raleigh's second colonial adventure was even more disastrous than the first. In 1587 another little band was sent to the Carolina coast with John White as leader. A few days after the landing Virginia Dare, White's grandchild, was born, the first English child born in the New World. Governor White went back to England to secure aid for

his struggling colony, but events there prevented his return until 1591.

The Armada. For many years preceding this period Spain had been the dominant power of Europe and was absolute mistress of the seas until a new generation of English seamen challenged her supremacy. Smarting under the victories of Drake and others and fearing the loss of her power on the sea, Spain thought to deliver a blow which would put an end to England's aspirations. Accordingly, in 1588, she fitted out the great fleet known as the Armada and undertook to land 30,000 soldiers on the shores of England and overrun the country. England hastily assembled a fleet of small vessels under Lord Howard and Sir Francis Drake and gave battle in the English Channel. The English were the better sailors and fought under better officers; they routed and dispersed the Armada in great disorder, and drove the invaders back to Spain with only fifty-four out of one hundred and thirty vessels, and 10,000 out of 30,000 men. This victory, which wrested the power of the sea from Spain and gave it to England, emboldened the English to proceed rapidly and systematically with other colonies in the New World. It was the beginning of England's supremacy on the seas and in the lands beyond.

The Lost Colony. The battle of the Armada and the attending circumstances prevented Governor White from promptly returning to the little colony on the Carolina coast. When he arrived, in 1591, he found nothing but the deserted settlement and the inscription C-R-O-A-T-O-A-N on the trunk of one of the trees. The colony had no doubt moved to the island of that name. But a terrible storm arose and the captains of the ships were afraid to risk the shoals and reefs of the coast and they put out to sea without finding the island. It was never known what became of the colony.

The English Spirit. In spite of these failures Sir Walter Raleigh never lost heart in his purpose to make Virginia a transplanted English state. It was the English alone of the Europeans who undertook to establish self-supporting and self-sufficient settlements. Other ventures of colonization were designed chiefly for purposes of treasure seeking and conquest. It was in this spirit and for this reason that English settlements became stable and that English civilization ultimately possessed the New World.



ROUTES OF VOYAGERS AND DISCOVERERS

European Claims to America. The sixteenth century came to a close with three nations, Spain, France, and England, attempting to colonize America—all having practically

failed. Spain, however, in addition to her possessions in Mexico and Peru, had a weak post at St. Augustine, in Florida, and another in the far west, at Santa Fé. Despite her growing weakness she managed to maintain her hold in the south for many years. France, in the new century just dawning, pushed on her work of colonization in the north with promising success. Into the middle portion of the New World, between the Spanish on the south and the French on the north, came the people of England again, and this time they came to stay; they had resolved upon permanent colonization and development. A little later the Dutch and Swedes also came into this portion of the country.

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

1. Explain why at this time, Italy should furnish so many intelligent men?

2. Name several Italian explorers. Why did they sail under foreign flags?

3. Why should the Portuguese be such hardy mariners?

4. Who invented printing?

5. Did Columbus originate the idea that the world is round? What did intelligent men generally believe?

6. Why did Columbus keep two records?

7. Why was England so slow in exploring and settling the New World?

8. Who were the Huguenots?

9. Why did the French direct their exploring and colonizing efforts chiefly to the north and west?

10. What plants were introduced into Europe from America?

11. What qualities in the English gave promise that they would finally outstrip others in possession of America?

12. Did the lands occupied by the English have any advantage over those of the other nations as a region of permanent colonies? Contrast the agricultural possibilities of the portions of territory occupied by the French, the English, and the Spanish.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Brigham, *Geographic Influences*
Eggleston, *Beginners of a Nation*
Cheyney, *European Background of American History*
Bourne, *Spain in America*
Irving, *Life of Columbus*
Channing, *A Student's History of the United States*
Hart, *Essentials in American History*
Thwaites, *France in America*
Tyler, *England in America*
Longfellow, *Hiawatha*
Bolton and Barker, *With the Makers of Texas*
Joaquin Miller, *Columbus*

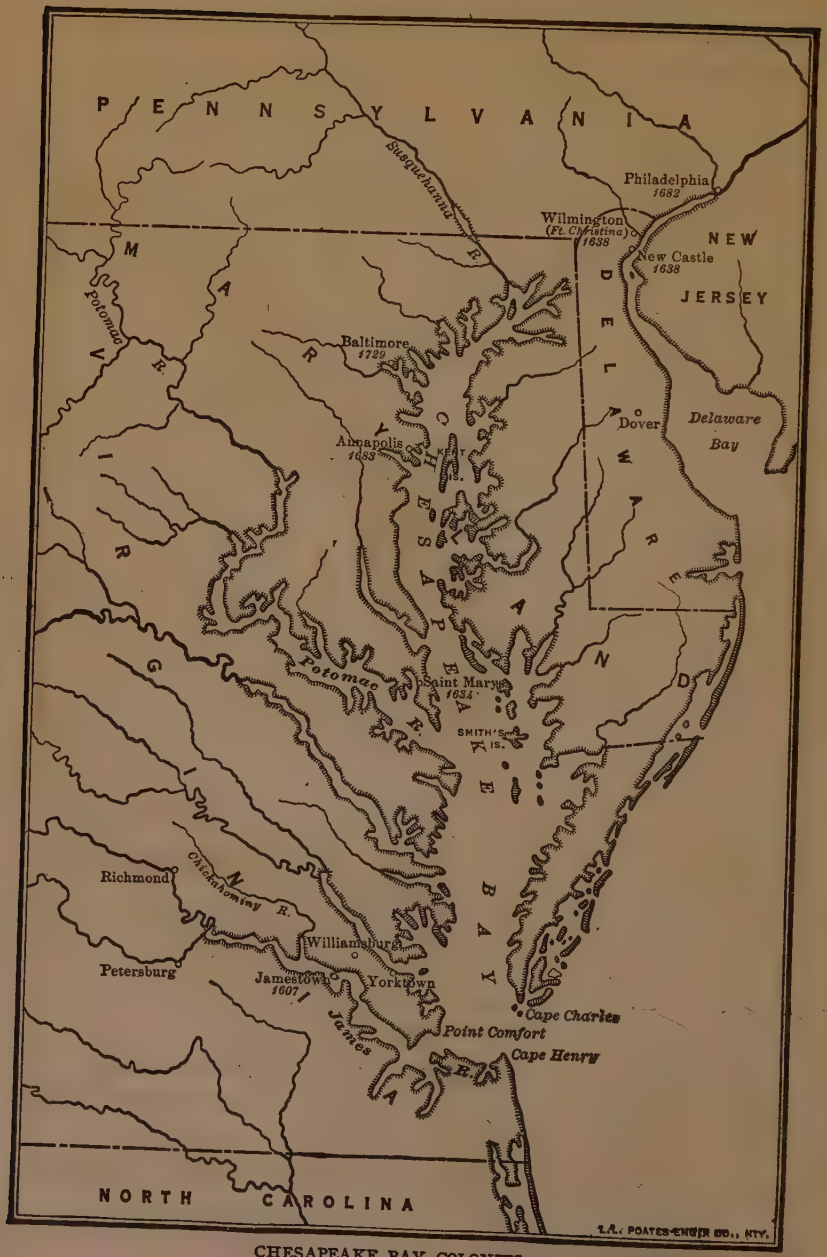
PERIOD II.—COLONIZATION

1588-1760

CHAPTER III

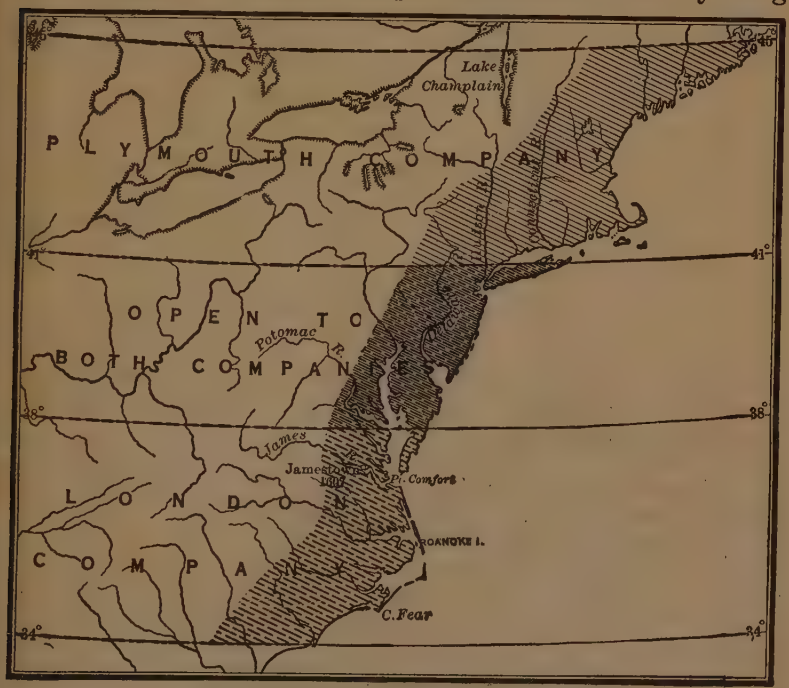
CHESAPEAKE BAY COLONIES

The English Background. We have seen that the first attempt at English settlement in America began in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. This was the period of England's greatest achievements. Following the death of the queen in 1603, James I of the House of Stuart came to the throne and was in turn succeeded by his son Charles. These two monarchs were far inferior to the brilliant Elizabeth and under their administration the English government became a petty political and religious tyranny. Illegal taxes were levied and those who refused to pay them were thrown into prison, and those who refused to conform to the worship of the Established Church were cruelly persecuted. A strong revolutionary party, the Puritans, opposed the despotic rule of James I and of his more autocratic son, Charles I, and England was involved in a desperate civil war. The leader of the revolution was Oliver Cromwell, a stalwart son of freedom, intensely religious, talented, and courageous. He overcame the king, Charles I, who was beheaded in 1649, and Cromwell became the "Protector of the Commonwealth." This was a momentous period not only in our own history but in the history of the world, for out of all this strife came the spirit of religious freedom and civil liberty that made England an empire of freemen and America a self-governing republic.



CHESAPEAKE BAY COLONIES

Trading Companies. The experience of Raleigh seemed to prove that the work of colonization in America was too large an undertaking for a single individual and henceforward settlements were promoted by combined effort. For this purpose two trading companies were chartered by King



CROWN GRANTS TO TRADING COMPANIES

James, and Virginia, the name given to all the eastern part of North America from Carolina to Nova Scotia, was divided between them. The southern part was granted to the London Company, so called because its meetings were held in that town; the northern part to the Plymouth Company, which held its meetings in the town of that name. The entire region was to be governed by a royal council of thirteen in England which appointed a resident council of

thirteen. All the property of the settlers of each company was to be held in "joint stock," which meant that no one was to have any land of his own but all the members of the colony were to work together and put what they made into a common storehouse from which they were to be clothed and fed.

The companies immediately made preparations for founding settlements in America. The Plymouth Company succeeded in beginning a colony first, and a little settlement was made on the banks of the Kennebec but the attempt was a failure. To the London Company belongs the honor of establishing the first permanent English colony in the New World.

Jamestown. In December, 1606, the *Susan Constant* and two other small vessels commanded by Christopher Newport set sail with one hundred and twenty colonists, all men, for the New World. In April, 1607, they reached the capes of Virginia, which they named respectively Henry and Charles after the two sons of their sovereign. Passing on into Chesapeake Bay, they were driven by a storm westward into what is now called Hampton Roads, and sailed up the broad river which discharges its waters there. This river was called the James

BUILDING A FORT AT JAMESTOWN

in honor of their "dread Lord and King." By this time it was the month of May, and the pink and white blossoms nestling close to the water's edge, together with the dark primeval forests beyond, made an enchanting picture for the sea-weary voyagers.

At last the colonists chose a place of settlement on the little peninsula connected with the mainland by a narrow isthmus (long since worn away) thirty-two miles from the river's mouth. They named the settlement Jamestown, again honoring their king; and here, on May 14, 1607, the colonists landed and began to lay out their town site. On their first night in the New World they had an uncomfortable introduction to the Indians, who, creeping from the hills and hiding behind trees, shot their poison-tipped arrows at the little company. But the sound of the English guns and the sting of the bullets quickly drove the savages back into the forests.

Soon a few small cabins were erected, while some of the settlers formed dwelling places by digging caves in the ground. For a church they nailed a board between two trees and stretched a canvas over it, and in this rude temple of the wilds they held their first church services.

Hardships of the Colony. The colonists at Jamestown were ill prepared for the task of settlement. More than fifty were without a trade; moved by the desire to get rich quickly, they lacked the patience and perseverance to undertake the long, arduous task of building up and maintaining a community of industry. There were, however, a few men of superior character and twelve were artisans. But there was little incentive to personal effort, because everything the individual accomplished became a part of the common stock.

Troubles began early. On account of the long voyage

supplies were running low; the peninsula was marshy and malarial, and infested with mosquitoes. The colonists arrived so late in the season that seed time was nearly passed. Instead of planting corn for subsistence, the settlers planted oranges, melons, and cotton. Many of them gave themselves to hunting, searching for gold, and to looking for a passage to the South Sea. Soon the rations were reduced to a pint of worm-eaten barley a day, and on account of the poor food and the bad water many fell ill with fever. Sometimes in a night three or four persons died, and before six months had passed half the colony had found graves in the wilderness. There was also a constant fear of the Indians and it was necessary for each man to stand watch every third night. At times there were not as many as five men able to bear arms, and the living could hardly bury the dead.

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH

Captain John Smith. Adversities and trials often develop noble men for emergencies, and happily for Virginia there was one resourceful person in the little company at Jamestown. This was Captain John Smith, whose courage and activity kept the colony alive until fresh supplies could come from England. As governor he forced the lazy and shiftless to go to work; corn was planted, fortifications were repaired, and the men were drilled in arms to protect the settlement from the hostile Indians. Smith, himself, explored the rivers and bays, became familiar with the country and the natives, ventured into the Indian villages and drove sharp bargains for corn and other supplies.

Captain John Smith was a veritable knight-errant, whose life had been a succession of adventures, and here in America he experienced the crowning romance of his life, as he relates it. On one of his expeditions among the Indians to obtain corn he was captured and was taken before Powhatan, the most powerful chief of that section, who condemned him to die. Smith's head was placed on the block and the executioners stood ready to beat out his brains, when Pocahontas, the chief's young daughter, ran up and laid her head upon his and begged for his life. He was formally adopted as a member of the Indian tribe, though he was permitted to enjoy his freedom and returned to the colony. In some degree this story is probably true although it is not quite authentic. Pocahontas later, often carried food to the starving colonists. A young Englishman, John Rolfe, married her and took her to England where she was treated with great kindness, being presented at court.

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POCAHONTAS—MRS. JOHN ROLFE

The Starving Time. When Smith returned to Jamestown after this adventure his enemies had gained the ascendency in public opinion and with the officers of the London Company, and he was arrested and sent to prison; but he was soon released and then went back to London. In the absence of a strong executive and leader like Smith, the colonists again fell into careless ways and suffered many

disasters. There was no one to maintain trade with the Indians, and a period of terrible suffering, known as the "starving time," followed. The winter of 1609-1610 found the last supplies of food exhausted and before long famine claimed its victims. The colonists were compelled to eat dogs, rats, mice, adders—almost any flesh that could be captured. Houses were torn down, as were the palisades, and used for fuel. Of five hundred persons who had come to the colony since its first establishment there now remained only sixty, and these were in the last stages of privation and suffering.

Charter of 1609. But help was near at hand. A new charter had been granted to the London Company in 1609 that placed more power in its hands and established the boundaries of the colony at two hundred miles on each side of Old Point Comfort to extend west by northwest from sea to sea. Lord Delaware, the new governor, sent an advance expedition with supplies and settlers, but this was wrecked and was delayed for many months in the Bermuda Islands. When they reached Jamestown the relief expedition had provisions for only a week, and so it was decided to abandon the colony. The new arrivals, with the survivors, started out, hoping to reach Newfoundland, and then return to England. But as they sailed down the river they met Lord Delaware coming with abundant supplies, so the little ships were turned back and Jamestown began its life anew.

Dale's Rule. Soon Lord Delaware returned to England and in 1611 Sir Thomas Dale was sent out as deputy governor. For five years Dale was the ruling spirit of the colony. He declared martial law and forced the men to work, but gave them miserable rations in order that the company's profits might be increased. Dale's rule was

tyrannical, but he put new life into the colony by allowing nearly every settler three acres of land to work for himself, although the greater part of his earnings still went to the company. From this time forward there was little idleness and the settlement developed into an orderly establishment.

Tobacco Culture. The chief event of Dale's time, which served to put the colony on a firm foundation of prosperity, was the beginning of tobacco culture. For this, John Rolfe was chiefly responsible. With the increase of the individual allotment of land to fifty acres, the settlers began to prosper and soon tobacco became their staple crop and its use was extended all over the civilized world. The king and the London Company discouraged the industry, for they hoped that Virginia could be made to yield silk and wine in abundance; but the colonists refused to abandon the crop that brought as much as $12 a pound on the London market.

TOBACCO PLANT

Representative Government. The year 1619 is memorable in the annals of Virginia and of America. Through the influence of the broad-minded Sir Edwin Sandys, one of the leading members of the London Company, the people of Virginia in that year were permitted to enjoy a measure of representative government. The power of the governor was limited and a body of freemen, called the House of

Burgesses, elected by the people, was constituted to meet annually and pass local laws. The first house, composed of twenty-two delegates, met in July, 1619, at the church house in Jamestown. This was the beginning of self-government in America.

Servants and Slaves. Self-governing and prosperous Virginia attracted many settlers who found profit in the rapidly increasing tobacco industry. Large grants of land were made to individuals on condition of their transporting to America servants and materials for the cultivation of the land. The white servants transported under contract were known as "indented" servants. In return for the cost of their transportation to America they bound themselves out for a term of service, generally four to six years.

The supply of labor was further increased by the introduction of slaves. The first importation arrived in 1619, when a Dutch ship anchored at Jamestown with twenty native Africans whom the planters purchased. From time to time other slaves were brought into Virginia and the other colonies, and the slave trade for many years was a recognized branch of commerce.

Wives for the Settlers. The third interesting event of the year 1619 was the arrival of ninety young women at Jamestown who had been sent out by the company to become the wives of the young settlers and planters. The planter could secure a wife, with her permission, of course, by paying her transportation in the amount of one hundred and twenty pounds of tobacco, in value about $500. More than one shipload of these interesting and charming women arrived in Virginia before the demand could be fairly supplied. It was not long before the men of the colony became more contented as their wives set up housekeeping and made Virginia a place of homes.

Indian Massacre. In 1622 Virginia was prostrated by an Indian massacre. Opechancanough, who succeeded Powhatan as chief of the Indian tribes of that section, resented the constant encroachments of the whites and led his

INDIAN MODE OF ATTACK

braves against the settlers in a war intended to destroy them from the Chesapeake to the last cabin on the James. Houses were burned, crops destroyed, men butchered, and women and children carried into slavery. But the colonists soon rallied and paid the blood debt with compound interest, and then peace was restored.

In the meantime King James I, narrow-minded, stubborn, and bigoted, began plotting to destroy the London Company because he was resentful of its liberal policy and was hostile to its leaders. The Indian massacre of 1622 was used as a pretext for a charge of mismanagement and other complaints were manufactured. In 1624 the

charter was annulled and Virginia became a Crown colony subject to the direct rule of the king or his appointees.

Virginia Under the Protector. But self-government in the colony did not die with the London Company. Fortunately for Virginia the Civil War in the mother country compelled the successor of James to neglect the colony and she retained her House of Burgesses and with increasing freedom administered her local affairs. Virginia, however, was loyal to the king during the strife and the House of Burgesses denounced the execution of King Charles and invited his son, Charles II, to come to America and rule over his "Old Dominion" of Virginia. Many distressed and outlawed Cavaliers, as the followers of the king were called, sought a refuge in the colony. But the victorious revolutionary party in England would permit no such opposition or lack of allegiance in Virginia, and in 1652 a commission was sent over with a fleet to subdue the colony. Governor Berkeley showed signs of opposition, but he was overruled by local advisers, and Virginia, the last of the British dominions to abandon the king, reluctantly acknowledged the authority of the Protector. For eight years thereafter she enjoyed complete self-government.

Growth of Virginia. Virginia was now growing rapidly in wealth and population. The northward and westward movement of settlement received a check in 1644 by another Indian massacre. Opechancanough again tried to overrun the frontier settlements, but the Indians were quickly subdued and the old chief, himself, was taken prisoner. Trade expanded to such an extent that Dutch as well as English ships were attracted to the colony and the plantation wharves were loaded with tobacco for shipment to the markets of the world. Corn became a great crop and in 1634 Virginia sold 10,000 bushels of corn to

Massachusetts. Beeves, hogs, and goats were also exported. The Cavaliers, with their education and culture, gave a distinct tone to the life of Virginia, which thus, at an early time in the very midst of primitive surroundings became noted for social and intellectual graces. By this time, 1660, Virginia was no longer the only English colony in America. There was now a little group of settlers in Northern Virginia, or New England, as that region came to be called, and still nearer at hand on the upper Chesapeake Bay was the colony of Maryland.

Maryland. George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, had been a member of the London Company and was deeply interested in the work of colonization. At his request, the king granted to him a tract of land extending from the Potomac to the fortieth parallel of latitude on the north and as far west as a line drawn through the source of the river. Baltimore and his heirs were made proprietors of the territory and were required to pay nothing to the crown except two Indian arrow-heads a year in token of homage and allegiance. The new colony was named Maryland in honor of Henrietta Maria, the queen of King Charles.

LORD BALTIMORE

Lord Baltimore's object was two-fold. He desired the profits of the enterprise and, as he was a Roman Catholic, he wished to establish a colony where persons of his faith might find a refuge from the religious persecutions of

England. In order better to promote the second purpose he resolved that all Christian sects should be tolerated in Maryland. Lord Baltimore died before his charter was formally executed and the responsibility fell upon his son and heir, Cecil Calvert, second Lord Baltimore. In 1634 two hundred colonists were sent out, consisting of both Catholics and Protestants, who for the most part were laborers and skilled mechanics. Many settled at a little place which they called St. Marys, on a high bluff near the mouth of the Potomac. They bought lands from the friendly Indians at the price of a few steel hatchets and hoes and some pieces of bright colored cloth.

The early history was comparatively peaceful and happy. There was no "starving time." These settlers were more industrious than the first settlers of Virginia, and, profiting by the example of the sister colony to the south, they entered at once upon the culture of tobacco and encouraged the importation of indented servants and slaves to till the soil. Baltimore, a man of kindly disposition and of great executive ability, early established friendly relations with the Indians.

Assembly of Freemen. The Maryland charter contained a provision for the assembly of freemen to assist in making local laws. In this instance, as in most of the New England townships, the people, by their direct action without the intervention of representatives, enacted their laws. The first assembly in 1635 developed a controversy as to whether the proprietor or the freemen should initiate or propose legislation, and the matter ended by vesting this right in the people.

Boundary Controversy. During Maryland's early years the only serious interruption of its business and prosperity was a long boundary dispute with Virginia. The grant to

Maryland was carved out of land which at one time had been a part of Virginia, and this fact provoked a sense of grievance in the older colony. William Claiborne had established a fur trading station at Kent Island, within the boundaries of Maryland, and, although Lord Baltimore protested, he continued to trade with the Indians from that point. Baltimore contended for his rights under his charter, while Claiborne, backed by the Virginia authorities, stoutly maintained his position. The dispute finally came to open war known as Claiborne's Rebellion. In the end the English authorities awarded the island to Maryland and established her boundaries.

Act of Toleration. In Maryland, as in other colonies and in England at this time, religious contentions were rife and religious antagonisms were bitter. The policy of Baltimore permitted all persons of Christian faith to enter Maryland, though from time to time the spirit of tolerance was forgotten in the ascendency of one or another sect. In 1649 the assembly of Maryland enacted the Toleration Act, under which no man was to be molested on account of his religion so long as he professed to believe in Jesus Christ. The Maryland colony in the south and the Rhode Island settlement under Roger Williams in the north were alone among the colonies in providing by law for religious freedom. In the other colonies, as in the mother country, there was no real religious freedom until long after this period. Following the overthrow of Charles I, Maryland pledged allegiance to the Commonwealth.

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

1. In the later 16th century what nation was the commercial rival of England? in the 17th?

2. Of what consideration as to location of a settlement did the settlers of Jamestown have no thought, which we today would probably consider of great importance?

3. Give as many reasons as you can why the Jamestown colony had a hard time at first.

4. What was the character of the Stuart kings?

5. In what respect was the government of the Maryland colony like that of Virginia? In what respects was it different?

6. Did slavery at first flourish in Virginia?

7. Why were the settlements at the falls of the rivers the first frontier of America?

8. How did successful agriculture help in the development of family life? Contrast with conditions in a colony made up mainly of fur trappers.

9. Did one king have a moral right to grant to one colony land which a former king had given to another? How did Claiborne feel about it?

CHAPTER IV

NEW ENGLAND COLONIES

Religious Sects in England. The first successful colonization in New England was due to the resolution of certain English people to escape religious persecution. In the seventeenth century the religious sects in England were divided into three classes; first, the members of the Church of England, the state church, to which the majority of people belonged and which was sustained by the government; second, the Roman Catholics, few in number and oppressed by the civil powers; third, the extreme Protestants, who dissented from both the Catholic Church and the Church of England. These dissenting Protestants were divided into two classes: first, were the Puritans, so called because they preferred to remain in the established church but wished it "purified" of certain forms of worship; second, were the Separatists, who wished to separate from the Church of England and set up independent congregations. Objection was made by these "dissenters" not only to the forms and ceremonies of the established church, but to its mode of government under the administration of bishops and archbishops. The civil government levied taxes for the maintenance of the Church of England and persecuted all dissenters.

The Pilgrims. The Independents, or Separatists, were so harshly treated that life became intolerable and at last a little band of them resolved to leave England and go to Holland, which was then the only nation in Europe where there was religious toleration. Here these Pilgrims, for the sake of conscience, lived for ten long, weary years, but

the love of the mother country was strong in their hearts; they were still Englishmen and they could not be reconciled to rearing their children as foreigners. In their distress their thoughts turned to the New World in the

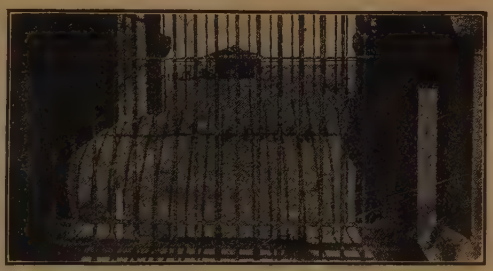
SIGNING THE COMPACT ON BOARD THE MAYFLOWER

hope that they might find a habitation and establish a community where they could worship in their own way and preserve their identity. A grant of land was obtained from the London Company and the king gave a promise that they should not be molested. Money was raised by London merchants for transportation and supplies and it was agreed that all property and earnings should be held in "joint stock" until the debt due to the merchants was paid in full.

At last all was in readiness for the venture, and the little band, with brave hearts and firm faith, started out on another and greater pilgrimage. Two boats, the *Mayflower* and the *Speedwell,* set sail; but the latter proved

to be unseaworthy and returned, so the *Mayflower* sailed alone with the one hundred and two colonists. The purpose was to settle somewhere south of the Hudson River; but foul weather prevented accurate observations, and in November, when the *Mayflower* reached New England, near Cape Cod, the captain refused to go farther.

The Mayflower Compact. Finding themselves north of the London Company's grant, and therefore beyond its civil jurisdiction, the Pilgrims, before landing, drew up an agreement binding themselves to due submission and obedience "to such laws as should be enacted for the general good of the colony." On December 11, 1620, they went ashore at a place which they called Plymouth, in memory of Plymouth of Old England, near a large boulder since known as Plymouth Rock. Here the Pilgrims "fell upon their knees and blessed the God of Heaven who had brought them over the vast and perilous ocean." These colonists were earnest, industrious, God fearing people willing to work and suffer, if necessary, for their faith. Among them were John Carver, the first governor; the scholarly William Bradford,



PLYMOUTH ROCK

MYLES STANDISH

who in the following spring after Carver's death became governor, and the brave little soldier, Captain Myles Standish who was dubbed "Captain Shrimp" on account of his size, but whose pluck and ready wit were valuable in dealing with the Indians.

The Colony. The Pilgrims were prompt in setting to work, felling trees, erecting homes, building a fort, clearing land, and planting corn. The first winter was one of great suffering. The horrors of Jamestown were repeated. As a result of the long sea voyage and poor diet, many of the settlers had scurvy, while others suffered from the cold. By springtime nearly half of the little band had found graves under the snow. But the Pilgrims were fortified with the steadfast courage that conquers difficulties, and when the *Mayflower*, in the spring, set sail for England not a single one of them went back. When the crops of the first summer were harvested in the autumn, a day of thanksgiving was appointed, and this circumstance was the origin of our Thanksgiving festival.

PURITANS GOING TO CHURCH

Relations With the Indians. Plymouth had no such Indian massacres as those which Jamestown suffered. The coast at the point where the settlement was made was comparatively free from Indians on account of a pestilence

that had destroyed many of them a few years before. But even during the first winter watchers had observed Indians stealthily looking about on the edge of the wood. One day in March, 1621, the settlers were surprised when an Indian walked boldly into their village and cried "Welcome." This was Samoset who had picked up a few English words from fishermen who occasionally visited the New England waters. Another Indian, Squanto, taught the settlers at Plymouth many ways of getting along in the wilderness. He had been captured a few years before and sold as a slave. An Englishman restored him to his people and ever afterwards he was the firm friend of the English.

The greatest chief of the neighborhood, Massasoit of the Wampanoags, made a treaty of peace with the people of Plymouth which lasted more than half a century. The Narragansett chief, Canonicus, on one occasion sent to Plymouth a snake skin containing a bundle of arrows. Governor Bradford filled the skin with powder and shot and sent it back. Canonicus understood the hint and was careful to keep peace with his white neighbors.

Pilgrim Government. The joint-stock system was abolished after two years and each household enjoyed the profit of its own labors. Other towns and trading posts were established, and many other "dissenters" came over from England to cast their lot with their friends in the New World. The colony was democratic in government; the people elected their own governor and their own legislative assembly. For many years Plymouth prospered and finally it was merged into the greater colony of Massachusetts Bay.

Massachusetts Bay Colony. Before the outbreak of the Civil War in England the Puritans constituted the liberal party in church and state. They feared that civil and

religious liberty would be crushed by the despotic Charles I and some of their leaders resolved to follow in the footsteps of those who had gone to America. In 1628 a group of wealthy and influential Puritans formed a trading company known as the Massachusetts Bay Company, and purchased from the Council for New England, which had taken the place of the Plymouth Company, a tract of land along the coast of Massachusetts between the Merrimac and the Charles Rivers, and extending as far west as the Pacific Ocean. Men were sent to occupy the land under the leadership of John Endicott and they settled at Salem.

JOHN WINTHROP

The Massachusetts Bay Company, in 1629, further fortified itself with a royal charter which granted to the freemen of the company the right to choose their own governor, his deputy, and the council, and to manage in every way their own affairs. One striking omission was that no seat of government for the company was specified; it could meet in London, in Massachusetts, or anywhere else. Accordingly, the company, which was incensed by the tyranny of the king, decided to move to America in a body and here to exercise its charter rights. This transference occurred in 1630 and

in the same year 1,000 persons came to Massachusetts. The leading spirit of this immigration was John Winthrop, a wealthy country gentleman, who became the governor of the colony.

The Great Immigration. For the next ten years immigration increased in large volume. Many thousands left their homes in England and took up their abode in the New England forests. Whole church congregations, led by their ministers, flocked to this promised land, and soon Massachusetts was dotted with towns and hamlets. Charlestown, Boston, Watertown, Dorchester, and many other settlements were made. Many of the immigrants were men of wealth and learning and some of the ministers were among the foremost preachers of the time.

Government. The government of this colony, like that of Plymouth, was democratic. According to the terms of the charter the people elected their own governor and other officials. The freemen of each town met periodically to legislate in their local affairs, and to elect representatives to the general assembly or general court which made laws for the whole colony. In 1641 Massachusetts adopted a code of laws called the "Body of Liberties." No person was rated as a freeman with a right to vote unless he was a member of one of the churches within the colony, for while the Puritans left England in dissent from the established church they still maintained a union of church and state. Their purpose was not to establish religious toleration, but to build up communities wherein they could worship God in their own way, though they refused to allow the same privilege to those who dissented from their methods of worship.

Charter Troubles. Three serious disturbances occurred in the Massachusetts colony in the early years of its existence.

Trouble with the king over the charter, religious dissensions, and a frightful Indian war came in quick succession. Charles I, astonished and alarmed at the growth of the Puritan commonwealth across the sea, resolved to annul the charter. Excitement ran high in Massachusetts and preparations were made for resistance. But the attention of the king was fully occupied by the civil war at home and for a time Massachusetts was free from interference by the mother country.

Religious Dissensions. The colony was rent by serious religious dissensions while the attack on the charter was pending. Roger Williams, a sincere and resolute man who had come into the colony, entertained advanced ideas and boldly proclaimed them. He opposed the exercise of civil rights by the church authorities and he questioned the right of Massachusetts to occupy her lands under the king's charter, because he held that the lands belonged to the Indians and should be purchased from them. As a consequence of this conflict Williams and his followers were banished from the colony, and they set up a government of their own among the Narragansett Indians, where religious toleration was proclaimed and

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FIRST CHURCH AT SALEM, MASS. STILL STANDING

church and state were absolutely separate. No sooner had Williams been banished than other religious disturbances developed on account of the views entertained by Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. The people of Massachusetts resented her activities and she too was expelled from the colony.

Westward Movement. Massachusetts settlers soon began to cast their eyes westward from their own bleak and barren coast to the fertile Connecticut valley beyond. The Dutch had already established a fort at Hartford and there built up a fur trade with the Indians. Disregarding the rights of the Dutch, the English pushed westward and established many small towns. But out of this westward movement came inevitable conflict with the Indians. Just at the time when Massachusetts was sorely beset by threats from the mother country and when Roger Williams was stirring the colony into a ferment, she was compelled to send men into the Connecticut valley to reduce the Pequot Indians

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HARVARD COLLEGE

Growth. Notwithstanding these difficulties the Massachusetts Bay Colony prospered. The people were industrious and thrifty; soon herds of cattle, goats, and swine browsed on the hillsides; and a considerable shipping was developed in lumber, fish, and furs. Fully 20,000 people came between 1630 and 1640, but with the Puritan ascendency in Eng-

land in 1640 immigration diminished. A college was founded at Cambridge in 1636 by order of the Masachusetts Assembly, and when in 1638 John Harvard bequeathed a large sum of money and his library to the institution it was called Harvard College in his honor. Another event of the year 1636 was the launching at Marblehead, Mass., of the first slave ship built in America. During the period of the Puritan Commonwealth Massachusetts governed herself as an independent power. Construing her charter in the broadest possible way, she extended her jurisdiction

NARRAGANSETT INDIANS RECEIVING ROGER WILLIAMS

so as to include many small fishing settlements in New Hampshire and Maine.

Rhode Island. The removal of Roger Williams and his followers was the beginning of another New England colony. Williams bought land from the Indians in the

Narragansett Bay region and there established, in 1636, the town of Providence. Hardly had this settlement been made when Mrs. Anne Hutchinson and her followers bought the island of Aquidneck (Rhode Island) from the Indians for "forty fathoms of white beads" and founded the town of Portsmouth. Other towns were established under similar circumstances and all these, in 1644, were merged in a charter constituting the Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. In these settlements the people enjoyed perfect religious freedom.

Connecticut. Connecticut was established in part by settlers from Massachusetts and in part by immigrants from England. A trading post, Saybrook, was located at the mouth of the Connecticut River by John Winthrop, Jr., who was acting as agent for Lord Say and Lord Brooke, the English owners of the property. In 1636 Thomas Hooker, a great preacher at Cambridge, moved with his little congregation, driving their flocks and herds before them like the patriarchs of old, into the Connecticut country. Other immigrations followed and soon there were three towns on the river, Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield just south of the Massachusetts boundary.

Pequot War. But the Connecticut settlement narrowly escaped extermination in its infancy. The westward movement brought the whites into conflict with two powerful and warlike tribes of the Algonquin family, the Narragansetts and the Pequots. Relations with the former were friendly on account of the influence of Roger Williams. But quarrels were frequent between the Pequots and the traders, and during the winter of 1636 and 1637 the Connecticut towns were in constant danger of attack by the savages. Wethersfield was the first to suffer; many of the men were killed and the women and children taken

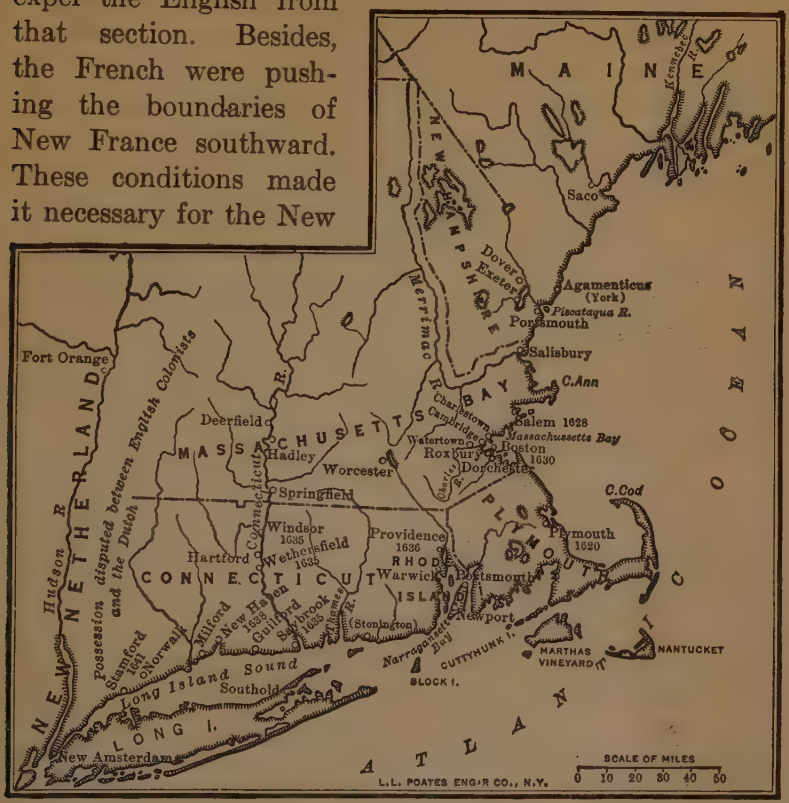
into captivity. The blood-curdling war whoop echoed in the forests during the whole of that terrible winter, and the fiendish tomahawk struck down victim after victim.

Prompt measures were necessary to save the settlements from total destruction. Massachusetts and Plymouth both sent out determined bands of militia and Indian allies who attacked the Pequots in their fortified village, fell upon them without mercy, and reduced their four hundred warriors to a bare dozen. The women and children of the tribe were sold into slavery. As a consequence of this severe vengeance New England enjoyed peace with the Indians for more than forty years.

Growth of Connecticut. At the end of the Pequot War the Connecticut settlements took on a renewed growth. In 1639 the freemen of the three towns assembled at Hartford and drew up the "Fundamental Orders," which was the first written constitution known to history. The "Fundamental Orders" of the Connecticut settlements set up a thoroughly democratic system of government which differed from that of Massachusetts in the fact that church membership was not a necessary qualification for voting. Indian peace led also to the establishment of a new settlement in the Connecticut region. John Davenport, a noted Puritan minister from London, aided by Theophilus Eaton, brought his congregation to America in 1638 and settled at New Haven. A little later all the towns near the mouth of the river united with this settlement into the colony of New Haven. All laws were based strictly on the Bible and none but church members could vote.

New England Confederacy. During the war with the Pequots, Connecticut had proposed to Massachusetts a confederation of the New England colonies for mutual defense. There was trouble threatening from the Dutch,

who were provoked on account of the loss of their fur trade in the Connecticut valley, and were preparing to expel the English from that section. Besides, the French were pushing the boundaries of New France southward. These conditions made it necessary for the New



NEW ENGLAND COLONIES

England colonies to co-operate. In 1643 a body of representatives from Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven met in Boston and formulated articles of agreement which bound them into the "New England Confederacy." Because of her religious beliefs Rhode Island was not permitted to join. The affairs of the

Confederacy were to be administered by a board of eight men, two from each colony, who should meet at least once a year. Six of these were necessary to adopt a measure or ordinance, and in this manner the three small colonies could control Massachusetts, the wealthiest and most populous of the four. Massachusetts found herself at times at a disadvantage and did not hesitate at nullification, that is to say, to declare null and void such measures of the Confederacy as were objectionable to her. The articles of the Confederacy provided also for the return of runaway slaves. The "New England Confederacy" continued until 1684. From first to last, by superior management or by nullification, as the circumstances permitted or required, Massachusetts was the dominating factor in this New England union.

A QUAKER

The Quaker Episode. During the later period of the English Commonwealth a new religious sect, the "Friends" or Quakers, appeared in the New England colonies. Thoroughly despised and cruelly persecuted in England, they sought a home in the New World. The manners and customs of the Quakers, as well as their doctrines, were unusual. In particular, they believed that a government had no right to control religion. On account of their insistent demands for the separation of church and state, Massachusetts regarded them as a menace to society, and, in 1656, when two Quakers appeared in Boston they were immediately thrown into prison and kept there until they could be sent back to England. Nevertheless, eager to make con-

verts and ready to suffer for their faith, from time to time they continued to come into Massachusetts and they scattered in small numbers throughout all the colonies. Everywhere they suffered persecution; they were ostracized and sometimes whipped without mercy, and at one time four of them were hanged in Massachusetts.

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

1. What was the first colony founded in New England and what was its fate?
2. What was the difference between the Puritans and the Separatists?
3. Why did the Pilgrims leave Holland?
4. To what extent did the Pilgrims believe in religious freedom?
5. What American author has immortalized Colonial New England in poetry?
6. Compare the early history of Maryland and Rhode Island.
7. What caused the great immigration?
8. Why should the Connecticut Valley be sought by the Dutch, French and English alike?
9. The "Fundamental Orders" of Connecticut by which three towns were united under one government and the "New England Confederacy," which federated four colonies without interfering with local self-government, have been called "typical American movements." If you cannot explain this now, make a note of it and try to find an explanation as you advance in the study of American history.

CHAPTER V

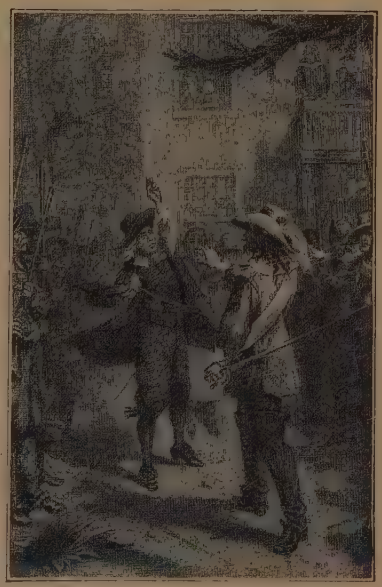
COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT AND EXPANSION

The Restoration and Plans for Colonial Control. In the year 1660 American settlements were grouped into seven English colonies, five in the north and two in the south. Between these the valleys of the Hudson and the Delaware were in possession of the Dutch, while to the north were the French and to the south the Spaniards who still held Florida and the Gulf coast. This year marked the downfall of the English Commonwealth, or the Cromwell government, and the restoration of King Charles II, son of that other Charles who paid for his despotism with his life. There was a marked change also in the affairs of the colonies. The king planned through the colonies, which were increasing in power and prosperity, to build up British commerce which had been crippled during the civil war. Accordingly Navigation Acts or Acts of Trade were passed, the purpose of which was to force the colonies to trade with England and the British Islands in the West Indies. This would increase the royal revenue and at the same time injure Holland, the chief commercial rival of England in the seventeenth century. Other features of the new colonial policy were expansion and a stronger political control of the colonies, the latter being necessary to insure commercial control.

Misgovernment in Virginia. Notwithstanding the fact that Virginia had been in open sympathy with the king in his exile, the "Old Dominion" received no favors at his hands when he was restored to the throne. On the contrary the Restoration brought to Virginia only oppression

and caused much discontent in the colony. Sir William Berkeley, who had been deposed from the office of governor when the parliamentary commissioners under Cromwell compelled the submission of Virginia, was now reinstated and ruled the colony with an iron hand. He not only played the tyrant but he used his office for his own mercenary gain and for many years he denied the people the right of electing a new House of Burgesses. About this time the home government forbade the export of tobacco to any country except England, and this increased the general discontent.

Bacon's Rebellion. But the most serious trouble in Virginia came from the Indians. Under one provocation or another the savages made frequent raids and soon the whole frontier, from the Potomac to the falls of the James, was swarming with painted warriors. Homes were burned and settlers were slaughtered day after day. As Governor Berkeley took no decisive steps to protect the people, Nathaniel Bacon, a brave and impetuous young Englishman who had lately arrived, organized a force of desperate colonists and drove back the savages. Berkeley bitterly resented this action, and proclaimed the leader a traitor. Whereupon



BACON DEMANDS COMMISSION TO FIGHT INDIANS

the rebel, at the head of several hundred men, captured Jamestown, from which the governor had fled. But Bacon soon fell a victim of swamp fever which ended his short and brilliant career and after his death the rebellion collapsed. Berkeley returned to power and visited terrible vengeance upon his enemies, hanging more than a score of them. These butcheries so disgusted King Charles that he said, "That old fool has hung more men in that naked country than I did for the murder of my father." Finally the king recalled Berkeley to England and the colonists celebrated his departure with bonfires and general rejoicing.

Growth of Virginia. From Bacon's rebellion to the outbreak of the Revolutionary War was just a hundred years. For Virginia it was a century of gradual growth in population and continual quarrels with royal governors. As new immigrants arrived, the frontier was pushed farther westward until the settlements reached the mountains. In the contests with the governors and under the stress of innumerable difficulties, the people gained more and more privileges and acquired more and more ability to manage their own affairs. A notable event of this period was the establishment of William and Mary College in 1693 at Williamsburg, the capital of the colony. This institution, the second college in America, was named for the sovereigns William and Mary then ruling in England.

WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE

Development of Maryland. The other southern colony at this time was Maryland, which prospered for many years under the wise administration of the Baltimores. Many were attracted to the colony on acount of religious toleration, though here as elsewhere there was much strife among the religious sects. The settlement of Pennsylvania on the north gave rise to a boundary dispute which lasted for three-fourths of a century. The boundary was finally established by a survey made in 1767 by Mason and Dixon, two English surveyors, and this line afterwards became known as the line of division between the North and the South.

Affairs in New England. King Charles looked with disfavor on New England. These colonies were founded by Puritans who belonged to the party in England responsible for the overthrow of royalty in 1649. To two of the New England colonies the king was rather kind; Rhode Island and Connecticut were granted liberal charters. Plymouth was unmolested. New Haven had been slow in proclaiming the new monarch and she harbored Whalley and Goffe, the regicide judges who had presided at the condemnation of King Charles I, a serious crime in the eyes of his son. The king compelled this colony to be annexed to Connecticut.

But it was Massachusetts, the most important and powerful of the New England colonies, which most provoked the king by its failure to submit to his authority. A special commission was sent over from England to look into her affairs. She had been acting as an independent state for so long that it was three months after the restoration before Charles was proclaimed king in Massachusetts. She had passed harsh and unjust laws against the Quakers and had also refused to tolerate any other church than

the Congregational, as the Puritan church in New England was called.

She had extended her jurisdiction over New Hampshire and Maine regardless of the claims of others to those settlements. She coined her own money, the "pine-tree shilling." She openly defied the laws of England regulating trade, and shipped her products where she pleased. The king suspected also that Massachusetts was guilty of harboring the executioners of his father. On account of these many offenses, Massachusetts was threatened with the loss of her charter. But war broke out between England and Holland and because of this and other affairs in the mother country the king's attention was diverted and the liberties of Massachusetts were preserved for a few years longer.

PINE TREE SHILLING

It was well for the colony that she enjoyed this breathing space, for other misfortunes were at hand. There had been no serious outbreaks of the Indians since the Pequot War in 1636 and 1637. Treaties of friendship had been formed between some of the tribes and the colonies, and the missionary zeal of the ministers had led to the conversion of many of the red men. The chief missionary to the Indians was John Eliot, a minister of Roxbury who worked among them many years and translated the Bible into the Indian tongue. There were many rumors of Indian plots while Massachusetts was busy with the royal commissioners whom King Charles had sent out. Philip, the head sachem of the Pokanokets, was plotting against the whites. This chief, the son of Massasoit, who made a treaty of peace with the Pilgrim fathers fifty years before, had become estranged from the English and was inciting a

general Indian uprising. Alexander, his brother, had died at Plymouth where he had gone to answer a charge of conspiring against the colony. Philip believed that he had been poisoned, though it was not true, and he enlisted the aid of the powerful Narragansetts in a determined effort to drive out the whites. An Indian war was always an unspeakable horror, but now it was doubly dangerous because the Indian had learned to use firearms. This war, known as King Philip's War, lasted two years, and was one long story of burning and massacre. The fiercer fighting began in the attack on the little town of Swansea, Massachusetts, in June, 1675. Many men were killed and women and children were carried into captivity or brained against the nearest trees. Following this slaughter, town after town in the southern and western parts of the colony was pillaged and burned. When the Indians attacked the town of Hadley, an aged man with a flowing white beard —so the story goes—appeared just as the settlers were ready to despair, rallied them and led them to victory. The thankful villagers took him to be an angel sent from Heaven for their deliverance, but it proved to be Goffe, one of the executioners of King Charles I, who had been hiding a long time in the village. By the spring of 1676 the strength of the Indians was broken and Philip had fled before his pursuers. Finally he was shot by one of his own race. The torch and the tomahawk had ravaged the land and about six hundred men had been killed or taken prisoners never to return. Many of the Indian prisoners, including Philip's wife and only son, were sold as slaves in South America and the West Indies.

Charters Annulled. In 1684 King Charles annulled the charter of Massachusetts under which she had conducted her affairs for fifty-four years, and the colony became a

royal province. In 1685 Charles II died and his brother, James II, another despot, executed his plan for a stronger political control and for uniting the New England colonies under one governor. At last the long dreaded governor-general arrived in the person of Sir Edmund Andros, who ruled in the autocratic fashion dear to the Stuart heart. He dismissed the legislature, levied taxes at pleasure, and turned the "Old South Meeting House," where the Puritans had worshipped, into a Church of England chapel. Andros demanded the charter of Rhode Island and brought that colony under his rule. He also went to Connecticut and commanded the assembly to surrender their charter, but that body managed to prolong a discussion of the subject until far into the night when suddenly the lights went out, and when new lights were struck from the tinder boxes the charter had disappeared. It is related that Captain John Wadsworth seized the precious document and under cover of darkness hurried it away and hid it in the hollow of a great oak. Of course, the written docu-

CHARTER OAK

ment itself was of no effect under the nullification of the crown, and Connecticut was compelled to pass under the rule of Governor Andros. New York and New Jersey, but lately conquered from the Dutch, likewise passed into the Confederation.

The "Glorious Revolution." But the people of England were worn out with the Stuart despotism which bore heavily upon the mother country, and in 1688 they deposed James II and invited William, Prince of Orange, to come from Holland and to reign as joint sovereign with his wife Mary, the daughter of James II and heir to the throne. This event is known as the "Glorious Revolution," because, without the shedding of blood, the people of England overthrew a despotic sovereign and established a constitutional monarchy.

When the joyful news reached New England, Andros was seized and imprisoned and the old charter government was restored in Rhode Island and Connecticut and continued in operation long after the Revolutionary War. New Hampshire was definitely separated from Massachusetts and erected into a royal province. Plymouth was added to Massachusetts, as was Maine, under a claim to that region which developed during the quarrel with Charles II. Massachusetts did not regain her full measure of liberty. In 1691 she was granted a new charter under which she chose her own legislature, but her governor was appointed by the crown.

The New England colonies did not soon forget those humiliating years under Sir Edmund Andros, and they prized all the more dearly their restored liberties. Massachusetts spent the next half century in trying to protect herself from French and Indian perils, and, like her great sister colony of the south, Virginia, in wresting privilege after privilege from the hands of her royal governors.

The Dutch. Separating the New England colonies from those of the Chesapeake Bay region were the Dutch in the Hudson and Delaware valleys. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the northern states of the Netherlands escaped from the dominion of Spain, at that time a cruel and dominant power in the world's affairs, and formed an independent country. Holland was the chief

LANDING OF HENRY HUDSON, THE HALF MOON IN THE DISTANCE

of these states and the name is frequently applied to the whole nation. With independence came commercial greatness and civil and religious reforms. Daring navigators sailed every sea in search of wealth and adventure and built up a colonial empire for the little state. It will be remembered that the Pilgrims emigrated first to Holland, and from there they came to America.

Henry Hudson. Just after the Pilgrims reached Holland

Henry Hudson, an Englishman in the employ of the "Dutch East India Company," a trading corporation, undertook to solve the old problem of finding a shorter way to India. He turned to the northwest in the hope of finding a waterway through the northern part of the continent, and in August, 1609, just two years after the founding of Jamestown, Hudson, in his ship, the *Half Moon,* rediscovered New York harbor and ascended the noble river that bears his name. By virtue of his discovery Holland claimed the valleys of the Hudson and the Delaware and the country was called New Netherlands. The next year on the same quest Hudson sailed under the English flag and was lost in the icy waters of Hudson Bay.

The New Netherlands. Trading posts were soon established; New Amsterdam was laid out on Manhattan Island, which was bought from the Indians for twenty-four dollars worth of beads and ribbons, and Fort Orange was established at the head of navigation on the Hudson. Soon the Dutch traders were growing rich out of profits in furs which they bought from the Indians for a few trinkets and sold for large sums in Europe.

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VAN RENSSELAER RESIDENCE. TYPE OF PATROON HOME

The Patroons. But colonists were slow in coming to the New Netherlands, so in 1629 the Dutch West India Trading Company, which had succeeded to the control of that region, adopted a new policy to attract settlers. Each person establishing a colony of fifty settlers over fifteen years of age received lands fronting on the Hudson River sixteen miles on one bank or eight miles on both and extending far back into the interior. The owner of such a domain was called a "Patroon," and he enjoyed almost absolute authority over his land and its occupants; he could make the laws and hold court, all corn should be ground at his mill, and no one should hunt or fish on his property without his consent.

The governors sent out by the company were usually men of arbitrary spirit; hence bitter disputes arose between them and the settlers. Peter Stuyvesant was the last and most famous of these Dutch governors and is remembered for his extreme temper and his wooden leg.

New Sweden. The Dutch also established trading posts in the Delaware region where the Swedes soon made settlements, the chief of which was Fort Christiana near the present site of Wilmington. The Swedes had aided Holland in her struggles in Europe and, on account of the sympathy between the two countries, they were at first tolerated in the region which the Dutch claimed. But in 1655 Peter Stuyvesant invaded the territory of New Sweden and the settlements were brought under Dutch control.

PETER STUYVESANT — EARLY DRAWING

The English Conquest. Stuyvesant had succeeded in subduing the Swedes, but he could not withstand the attack of the English. Holland and England were commercial rivals, and were at war during the early part of the reign of King Charles II. The royal commissioners, sent over in 1664 to investigate affairs in Massachusetts, had instructions also to conduct an expedition against New Amsterdam, and an English fleet appeared in the harbor of that town demanding its surrender. Governor Stuyvesant protested with many oaths, but he surrendered, and New Amsterdam passed into the hands of the English.

STREET CORNER IN NEW AMSTERDAM

New York. This was in 1664, and in the same year King Charles gave the entire region from the Delaware to the Connecticut to his brother James, Duke of York, who afterwards became King James II. Thereafter this entire region, including the town on Manhattan Island, was called New York, in his honor. The English were tactful in dealing with the conquered people, who were tired of the tyranny of their governors and welcomed the change in administration. The people were permitted to manage their own local affairs, and in 1683 the colony acquired the right to elect its own legislature. In 1685 New York became a royal province when the Duke of York became king, and the same year it was placed under the administration of Governor-General Andros, together with New Jersey and all New England. When the news came of the

accession of William and Mary and the imprisonment of Andros in Massachusetts, there was great rejoicing in the colony. Jacob Leisler, at the head of the local militia, overthrew the deputy governor and ruled the colony for two years in the name of the new sovereigns, although his authority was never officially recognized. In 1691 the governor appointed by the crown arrived in New York and under misrepresentations made by his enemies, Leisler, a courageous but indiscreet patriot, was put to death as a traitor. New York was unfortunate in her royal governors; one was believed to be in partnership with a band of pirates who infested the coasts and another swindled the colonists at every turn. The colony, nevertheless, grew rapidly after the English occupation and the city on Manhattan Island became a busy mart and ultimately grew to be the commercial metropolis of the Western Hemisphere.

New Jersey. In 1664 James, Duke of York, ceded that part of the territory conquered from the Dutch, lying between the Delaware and the sea, to Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. The new grant was called New Jersey in honor of Carteret who had been governor of the Island of Jersey. The proprietors drew up a liberal constitution known as the "Concessions" and went to work intelligently to settle their colony. There were already a few Dutch in New Jersey, together with some New Englanders, and now a number of settlers were brought over from England. Some of the despised and persecuted Quakers came to the colony. These settlers of contrary habits and customs fell to quarreling among themselves and then with the proprietors over the making of laws and the payment of taxes. In 1674 Berkeley sold his share, the western half, to a company of Quakers, but by

1702 the rights of the proprietors were acquired by the crown and New Jersey became a royal province. It was united with New York under the Andros rule. On the north and west were strong colonies and New Jersey escaped many of the perils of frontier life and was singularly free from Indian attacks. As a consequence of these conditions the colony enjoyed a rapid development.

The Quakers. We have heretofore spoken of the persecution of the Friends or Quakers and we have noted the harsh reception accorded them in Massachusetts and other colonies. The Quakers had many ideas that were considered strange in that day. They refused to bear arms for common defense; they would take no oath of allegiance; they believed that there should be no distinctions in dress and they wore simple clothes of sober drab with plain hats; they believed in the fellowship and equality of man; homage and reverence they held to be due to God alone and they refused to stand with heads uncovered in any presence; simple language, besprinkled with "Thee" and "Thou," was addressed to all alike. The Quakers were a sturdy and virtuous people and in spite of ridicule and prison walls they gained many converts.

WILLIAM PENN

William Penn. Among the English Quakers of that day was a staunch adherent of the new faith, William

Penn, the son and heir of a wealthy and worldly sailor and courtier. Penn was interested in colonization and had been one of the group of Quakers who purchased Berkeley's share of New Jersey, but finding it impossible to execute his idea of society and government in that colony, he determined to establish a colony of his own as an asylum for

PENN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS

his people. Charles II owed a large sum to Admiral Penn, William Penn's father, and the son inherited this claim against the crown. At Penn's request he was paid with a tract of 40,000 square miles in America, extending westward from the Delaware River. This region, called Pennsylvania by the king in honor of the Admiral, was a fertile country of great forests, beautiful rivers, and lofty mountains.

Pennsylvania. As proprietor of the new colony Penn governed wisely and well. The laws were made with the

consent of the freemen, perfect liberty of conscience was guaranteed to all, and protection was given to the rights of the Dutch and Swedes who had already settled in the new territory. Pennsylvania was widely advertised and its liberal government and the low price of land attracted many settlers. Soon large companies of English Quakers, Germans, Welsh, and Scotch found homes in Pennsylvania. A city was marked out early in 1682 on the broad peninsula between the Delaware and the Schuylkill and was named Philadelphia, the "City of Brotherly Love." It rapidly grew to be one of the chief cities of the country.

Penn and the Indians. In dealing with the Indians, Penn was scrupulously honest and gained their firm confidence and lasting friendship. A famous treaty was made in the early days of the colony under the "Penn Elm" on the banks of the Delaware. Penn and a few attendants, garbed in their Quaker costumes, made a pledge with the red men to live in peace and friendship "as long as the sun and the moon give light." This treaty was unbroken until long after those who made it were laid in the dust. The "Walking Purchase" was another famous treaty Penn made with the Indians. Under the terms of this agreement he was to receive a tract of land as far west from the Delaware as a man could walk in three days. Penn

FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE

and a few friends with a body of Indians, in a leisurely fashion, walked about thirty miles in a day and a half. Many years later the other half of the distance was covered in an altogether different spirit. By this time the colonists had become greedy for land and they employed the fastest walkers that could be found, and they walked sixty miles in the allotted time.

The exact boundaries of Penn's grant, especially as to Maryland, were for a long time a source of vexation. The Maryland controversy continued for more than three-fourths of a century and was finally settled, as we have seen, by a compromise at Mason and Dixon's Line in 1767.

Delaware. Penn bought the three lower counties known as Delaware from the Duke of York so as to gain an outlet to the sea. Delaware and Pennsylvania had one governor until the time of the Revolution, but after 1703 these three counties had a separate legislature. The two colonies were in the hands of Penn's heirs until separation from the mother country in 1776.

The Carolinas. In 1660 there was a vast unoccupied territory between Virginia and the Spanish post of St. Augustine which Spain claimed as a part of Florida. The French Huguenots had named the region Carolina and had tried to establish colonies there, but their efforts had ended in bloody failure. Here it was that Raleigh's ill-fated first settlers spent their strength at the time when the land was known as Virginia. In 1663 Charles II, who found it easy to reward his favorites by gifts of extensive territory in the New World, granted this region south of Virginia to eight of his courtiers who called it Carolina.

At the time of the grant there were already a few immigrants who had strayed from Virginia and settled on Albermarle Sound. From this settlement the colony of

FOUR PERIODS OF ATLANTIC COAST DEVELOPMENT

North Carolina developed. In 1664 a second settlement was made on the Cape Fear River a few miles from its mouth by English planters from the West Indies. The rights of these early settlers were recognized by the proprietors. Soon other colonists were sent over from England, and in 1670 a settlement was made at the junction of the Ashley and Cooper rivers named Charleston which became a very important commercial center. Religious liberty was granted to all the settlers and as a consequence there was considerable immigration of French Huguenots and Scotch Highlanders, two classes who had great influence in the development and subsequent history of the Carolinas.[1]

CAROLINA AS GRANTED BY CHARLES II

The Grand Model. The proprietors undertook to perfect a model government for their colony. John Locke, a celebrated English philosopher, drew up a "Grand Model" or the "Fundamental Constitution" which proved to be wholly unsuited as a government for any community. It provided a series of classes of citizens from nobles to serfs and slaves. As a matter of fact the Grand Model was never put into effect, for the settlers of Carolina soon showed a determination to manage their own affairs.

[1]Little difference of religious opinion was allowed in despotic France. Dissenters from the Catholic church were forbidden to go to New France, because they might give the wrong religion to the Indians. These people, called Huguenots escaped in great numbers to other European countries and to the English colonies in America.

The Spanish Danger. The Carolinas were settled in open defiance of the Spanish claim to the country and from the beginning danger threatened from that nation. In 1686 an expedition from St. Augustine invaded the colony and destroyed Stewart Town, a little Scotch settlement south of Charleston. The situation became more serious when in 1702 Spain and France formed an alliance, each nation eager to expel the English from America. The same year the Spaniards came again, but the Carolinians were warned by the friendly Creek Indians and the invaders were completely routed. The South Carolinians, or those who lived in the southern part of the colony, now took the offensive, and with a small fleet and several hundred men they attacked and destroyed the town of San Augustine. In 1706 a combined French and Spanish expedition from Havana bore down upon Charleston, but the colonists heroically defended their town and soon the enemy sailed away, leaving behind some two hundred French and Spanish prisoners.

Indian Wars. As the population increased and the settlers pushed far into the western forests, the Carolinas were brought into fierce conflict with the Indians who were often incited to warfare by the jealous Spaniards. In 1713 the terrible Tuscarora war broke upon North Carolina. These Tuscarora Indians, who were an isolated tribe of the Iroquois, murdered an English surveyor and massacred about two hundred frontier settlers. South Carolina and Virginia gave aid and the Tuscaroras were conquered and soon abandoned the province altogether, joining their brethren in New York and making the "Six Nations." In 1715 South Carolina faced the same danger from the Yemasees who were incited by the Spanish to take up arms against the province. The invasion was repelled and the Yemasees took refuge at San Augustine.

Separation Into North and South Carolina. It was not a part of the original undertaking to plant two distinct colonies in this region. But the settlements were so far apart and communication between them was so difficult that they could not well be united and the northern group was usually under a separate governor. There was also a marked difference between them from the first; the North Carolinians were hardy frontiersmen; in South Carolina there was the city of Charleston which brought the colony into closer commercial communication with England and the West Indies. However, it was not until 1729, when the proprietors sold out to the crown, that the settlements were formally divided into North Carolina and South Carolina. The safety of the Carolinas was not definitely assured until a buffer colony was erected between them and the Spaniards on the south.

JAMES OGLETHORPE

Georgia. The colony of Georgia, which served as a buffer between the Carolinas and the Spanish in Florida, was not founded until 1732. After the Carolinas passed back into the control of the crown the unsettled country south of the Savannah River, which had been a part of the grant to the eight original proprietors of Carolina, was reserved as crown property. James Oglethorpe, a valiant soldier and a man of noble heart, conceived a plan of founding a colony in America which should safeguard the

Carolinas from foreign attacks and should also be an asylum for the unfortunate poor and those oppressed by political conditions in England. In the mother country there were many miserable debtors languishing in unsanitary prisons and it was Oglethorpe's idea that if these persons had an opportunity to begin life anew they might grow into useful citizens. He interested other benevolent men with him, and the king, George II, granted to them a tract of land between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers which the trustees called Georgia in his honor. These trustees had full control of the colony and the governor and all other officers were appointed by them; the people had no voice in the government. There was religious toleration for all except Roman Catholics. The amount of land which each man could hold was limited and for a long time slavery and the traffic in rum were forbidden. At the end of twenty-one years Georgia was to revert to the crown.

Soon thirty-five families set sail for the new colony under Oglethorpe, who was the first governor. In the spring of 1733 they reached the mouth of the Savannah River, and, on a high bluff overlooking the river a few miles from the sea, they founded the city of Savannah. Other colonists, consisting of Germans and Scotch, followed and made valuable additions to the population.

Indian Relations. Through the help of an Indian woman (Mary Musgrove was her Christian name) who had married a white trader, Oglethorpe made a treaty of friendship with the Creeks. Soon a profitable trade was established with the Indians, and Augusta, founded in 1735, became an important center of this trade, especially with the Cherokees. Because of Oglethorpe's kindly policy peace was maintained with the Indians and Georgia was saved from this danger during her early history.

The Attack on San Augustine. From the outset the colony had to protect itself against the Spanish at San Augustine, who boldly asserted their claim to the whole country. Therefore, Oglethorpe in 1740 made an attack on the Spanish post. He was unsuccessful, but in 1742 with a small force he repelled a formidable expedition consisting of some four or five thousand men and a considerable fleet. They sailed away and thereafter Georgia and the Carolinas were safe from Spain.

Georgia Becomes a Crown Province. But Georgia was not content with her industrial and commercial conditions. The people desired slaves in order that they might com-

JOHN WESLEY

JOHN WHITEFIELD

pete with the Carolina planters; they suffered in commerce by reason of the prohibition of traffic in rum which at this time was the chief article of trade with the West Indies; they insisted upon the removal of the restrictions upon land holdings; and they were impatient to have a part in their own government. In all these desires or

demands they succeeded. Among the settlers of Savannah was John Wesley, the founder of the Methodist Church. Shortly afterwards George Whitefield, another famous preacher, immigrated to Georgia and founded an orphan asylum. In 1752 the trustees surrendered their rights to the crown and Georgia became a royal province. Georgia, owing to its belated founding, was at the time of the American Revolution still a weak and backward settlement.

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

1. To what extent was Bacon justifiable in resisting the government?
2. What different features of the King's plan of consolidating all the New England colonies were objectionable to the Americans?
3. What were some particular provisions of the Acts of Trade and Navigation?
4. From what sources did the settlers of Carolina come?
5. How did it come about that we have such small colonies as New Jersey, Delaware, and Rhode Island? Was it due at all to natural conditions?
6. What is meant by a buffer colony?
7. What differences might be noted between inmates of jails, etc., of that time in England and today?
8. In what respects were English colonial movements affected by the following:
   a. Spanish colonies
   b. French colonies
   c. Dutch colonies
   d. Location of Indian tribes
9. The Calverts as well as the Penns desired to purchase Delaware. Why?

CHAPTER VI

LIFE IN THE COLONIES

Population of the Colonies. Our forefathers settled in a new and strange land inhabited by wild beasts and wild men. By hard labor and perseverance they possessed the forests and plains, established dominion over the seas, and subdued and held in check the natives who resisted their advance. By the middle of the eighteenth century they had attained a condition of simple comfort and were enjoying some of the luxuries of life. There were now thirteen colonies with a population of approximately a million and a half people distributed more or less evenly north and south of Mason and Dixon's line. Three-fourths of the white population were pure English stock and the other one-fourth was composed of several racial elements. There were 300,000 negro slaves, of whom a large majority were owned in the South. The population was almost entirely rural. In all the colonies there were only four places that deserved to be called cities, viz., Philadelphia, Boston, New York, and Charleston. Philadelphia, then the largest, had only 20,000 inhabitants. From the seaboard the settlers had gradually advanced toward the mountains and daring traders armed with axe and rifle were ready to enter the fertile valleys beyond.

Colonial Government. The difficulties of communication among the colonies caused them to have comparatively little knowledge of one another, and each lived for the most part to itself. The New England colonies had a loose sort of union known as the New England Confederacy, but each colony preserved its independence. Never-

theless, there were points of similarity and there was a strong bond of sympathy among these thirteen young commonwealths. They all acknowledged allegiance to one king over the sea, and the general form of local government was the same, though there were differences in the manner of filling the office of governor. In Connecticut and Rhode Island the people elected their governors; in the proprietary colonies, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, the governors were appointed by the hereditary proprietors; and in the remainder of the colonies the governors were appointed by the king. The first two were called republican colonies, the second group proprietary colonies, and the third group royal colonies. But each had its own legislature chosen by the people and in all of them there developed a firm belief in democratic institutions and a "fierce spirit of liberty" that was born of the wild freedom of the New World.

Punishment of Crime. The laws against crime were much the same throughout the colonies. About one hundred offenses were punishable by death. Pennsylvania had tried to reform the penal code and abolish the death penalty for all offenses except murder, but it was too great a departure from the customs of the times and was abandoned. For other offenses culprits were put in the stocks or the pillory in some public place and there re-

NEW ENGLANDERS DUCKING A SCOLD

mained for hours in a cramped position subject to the jeers of all who chanced to pass by. The whipping post also was located in a public place in the little towns and villages, and criminals and runaway slaves were lashed on their bare backs with a cat-o'-nine-tails. The branding iron was not uncommon and often the loss of some member of the body, as an eye or an ear or an arm, was the punishment inflicted. Imprisonment for debt was observed, and the ducking stool was the favorite punishment for scolding wives. It is difficult for us now to reconcile the harshness of these laws with our present conception of civilized government, but we cannot judge these colonial forefathers by present-day standards. We have had two hundred years more of enlightenment to teach us what is right.

Means of Communication. As communication was difficult it was a rare thing for people to take long journeys, still there were a few highways of travel. Between the larger towns the early trails of the Indians and of the hunters had been widened into wagon-roads, though they were almost impassable for a large part of the year on account of the mud or the snow. In the thinly settled districts the roads were mere bridle-paths and travel was by horseback or afoot. There were few bridges spanning the streams and passage was by ford or ferry. The stagecoaches were rude, uncomfortable boxes swung on high wheels, and the traveler was fortunate if he covered forty miles a day in one of these lumbering vehicles. In the northern and middle colonies there were many wayside inns or taverns, but there were comparatively few in the South where the settlements were not so numerous. The stagecoach usually drew up to one of these taverns at about ten o'clock at night, and the traveler exchanged

misery on wheels for misery in cold rooms and on hard beds. At three o'clock the next morning the driver blew his horn and the journey was resumed. In 1764 a regular stagecoach line was opened between New York and

STAGECOACH AND WAYSIDE INN

Philadelphia, and three days were required for the journey which is now made by fast railroad trains in two hours. It was quite an achievement at that time when this distance was covered in two days by a line of stages called "The Flying Machine." It then took as long to go from Boston to New York as it now takes to cross the Atlantic Ocean in fast steamers. Pack horses were generally used to carry goods from place to place, though in the middle colonies large farm-wagons known as "Conestoga" wagons were coming into use. People residing near the rivers used rowboats, and along the coasts sailboats were common. Travel by water was much more rapid and much more comfortable than by land.

Mail and Newspapers. The crown had established a postal system and had appointed a postmaster-general, though the postage rates were high and the mails irregular. Mail-carriers, on horseback, waited until they had collected enough mail to justify a trip, and then jogged along the roads with saddlebags stuffed with letters and newspapers, and sometimes packages which they carried on their own account for small fees. Some of the towns received mail as often as three times a week, while some of the rural communities were fortunate to get mail once or twice a year. The rate on newspapers was a few cents each and the rate on letters ran as high as twenty-five cents each. The first newspaper to be published was the *Boston News Letter,* established in 1704 and within the next fifty years newspapers appeared in nearly all of the colonies. The first daily newspaper of America, the *American Daily Advertiser* of Philadelphia, was published in 1784.

Striking Differences. There were striking differences among the colonies due to climate, soil, and the racial qualities of the settlers. In New England the temperature is about the same as that of Norway and Sweden, while in the Carolinas and Georgia it is similar to that of southern France. Difference in soil was as great as the difference in climate. In the North it was rocky and thin, while the river valleys of the South possessed wonderful fertility. The Puritans had built up the New England colonies; the Cavaliers had wielded the larger influence in the society of the South, and in the middle colonies there were more Dutch, German, and Scotch than English. Under these circumstances it was inevitable that the colonies should develop wide differences in their social and industrial life. The colonies fell easily into three dis-

tinct groups or sections; namely, Southern, Middle and New England.

Conditions in the South. The southern group consisted of the colonies south of Pennsylvania, and of these Virginia was the largest and the most populous. In Virginia and Maryland the people were mostly English, while in the Carolinas and Georgia the French Huguenots and the Scotch-Irish predominated. The fertile soil and the con-

SHIP AT PLANTATION "LANDING"

genial climate of the South made farming the chief industry and the people for the most part resided in the country. Great plantations, consisting of thousands of acres, stretched along the river banks and the planters constituted the ruling class. There were a few small farms, but the small farmer could easily become a great landowner in a country where land was plentiful and cheap. There was

little town life in the South, and Charleston and Baltimore were the only towns of any size in the whole section at that time, these being the great shipping ports of the South. In Virginia, however, the planters shipped their tobacco direct from their own wharves in ocean vessels that came up the broad tidal streams and unloaded their cargoes of manufactured goods from Europe in exchange for the products of the plantation. Tobacco was the great staple in Virginia and Maryland, while in the Carolinas and Georgia rice, pitch, and tar were the chief products. Some cotton was grown near the sea.

Labor in the South. In order to develop the resources of the South the planters had to resort to forced labor consisting of indented servants and negro slaves. Some of the indented servants were persons of good birth in distressed circumstances who had bound themselves out for a term of years in order to get a fresh start in the world; others were political prisoners permitted to work out their freedom. In Virginia and Maryland there were, at first, many more indented servants than slaves, but by the middle of the eighteenth century many servants had become part of the citizenship. These indented servants, after their term of service was over, obtained farms for themselves, and became good citizens; a man was not likely to remain the servant of another when he could easily become a landholder and have a home of his own.

In South Carolina there were many more negroes than white people. The work of the slaves was comparatively easy and as a rule they were kindly treated, comfortable, and happy. In South Carolina the planters of the coast country resided in the city of Charleston, as the rice lands were malarial and unhealthful except for a few months of the year. In this section the slaves were under the con-

trol of overseers. Most of the negroes were fresh from Africa or the West Indies and were somewhat unruly, and, as a consequence, the overseers were sometimes compelled to use harsh measures. To us today this condition of labor seems hard; but it appeared otherwise to the people of one hundred and fifty years ago. Many of the moralists of that day argued that if the negroes were brought from the swamps of Africa and were taught Christianity and the arts of civilization they were benefited. As a rule the masters worked as hard as the slaves. There was so much to do and so few to do it that every possible means was used.

Education and Religion. The scattered settlements in the South made it almost impossible to establish a general system of free schools. However, as early as 1635 Benjamin Syms left a legacy for the promotion of public education in Virginia and it became the duty of the chief officers of a parish to see to the education of the poor children.[1] There were a few private schools and on nearly every plantation there was some sort of schoolhouse. In these "old field schools" little more was taught than the "three R's" and the teachers were often the ministers of the gospel in the neighborhood. It was in one of these humble institutions that George Washington learned to "read and write and cipher, too." The wealthy planters had special tutors for their children and when their sons were ready for college they were sent to William and Mary's College in Virginia or to Oxford in old England. Many of the southern planters were men of broad learning and culture, and in some of the plantation homes there were excellent

[1]There were other legacies for the purpose of establishing free schools. One of these ancient gifts is now a part of the support of the high school at Hampton, Virginia.

libraries. That of William Byrd of Virginia was the best private library in all of the colonies. Charleston, South Carolina, had the first public library in America.

The Episcopal Church was established by law in the southern colonies, but other sects were tolerated. In western Virginia and South Carolina there were many Presbyterians, while Maryland had a liberal sprinkling of Catholics. Church buildings were often substantial structures of home-made brick and many of them are standing yet.

Plantation Life. The planter was a busy man. He had to manage his farm with its many slaves and to conduct the transactions with his London merchant in the sale of his products and the purchase of his supplies. Often he was Justice of the Peace and member of the colonial legislature. Each plantation was a little self-supporting community. They were equipped with great barns for tobacco and corn, with stables and carriage house, cattle pens, dairy, poultry house, schoolhouse, and cabins for the negroes. The slaves not only worked the fields but some of them were trained for mechanical service; there were blacksmiths, carpenters, millers, and shoemakers—in fact, the negroes were taught various industries. The household servants were trained to cook, to spin, to weave, and to sew. The master's residence, the "big house," was set in the midst of trees and flowers often on a high bluff overlooking some river with the broad green fields around and the dark forests for a background. There were spacious halls and big, airy rooms, guest chambers, for southern hospitality was generous, and a kitchen with a fireplace big enough to roast an ox. Stoves were practically unknown until 1750, and were not in common use until long afterwards.

There were many pastimes and pleasures. The southerner was fond of hunting and fishing; he was an excellent horseman and was perfectly familiar with the forest and trails. On court days there was always stump speaking on the village green and the crowds gathered there to hear the topics of the day discussed. The arrival of a ship from Europe was a great event, the planter and his family and all the negroes assembling at the wharf to see her unload. There was much visiting back and forth at Christmas time, at New Year's, and on other holidays. Upon the convening of the colonial legislature or the inauguration of a new governor the wit and the beauty of the colony gathered at the capital to do honor to the event.

GUEST'S CHAMBER

There were parties and balls where gentlemen in powdered wigs and suits of olive plush or peach-bloom velvet danced the stately minuet with fair ladies resplendent in bright gowns and rich jewels. Out of this responsible living and picturesque society of the South came George Washington, the great soldier and statesman, who won our independence and directed the first period of the country's existence. At the same time and at other times came other great soldiers and political leaders who contributed conspicuously to the success of our republic.

Conditions in New England. The New England colonies

presented many sharp contrasts with conditions in the South. This group, in the middle of the eighteenth century, had a population of about 600,000, nearly half of whom were in the single colony of Massachusetts. The people were of almost pure English stock and for the most part thrifty, industrious, and honest Puritans. There were few slaves or indented servants and these for the most part were used as domestic servants. The New England farms were small and slave labor was not profitable. But many of the New Englanders were slave traders who obtained slaves from Africa and sold them in the West Indies and the South. Traders, shopkeepers, and small farmers constituted a large and prosperous element of society. The clergy, magistrates, college professors, and other professional men constituted the ruling class.

The isolated plantation life of the South was unknown in New England; on the contrary, this region was almost a succession of towns and villages. Boston was the only community of considerable size. The people had migrated to New England as church congregations and naturally they had settled in villages with the church as a center. While the South was concerned almost entirely in agriculture, New England led all the colonies in the variety of her industries. The soil was poor and rocky; nowhere except in the Connecticut valley did it yield more than a poor living, and the fishing of the sea offered more profitable employment than the culture of the land. Small fishing communities dotted the coasts and wealth came from the rich hauls of cod and mackerel.

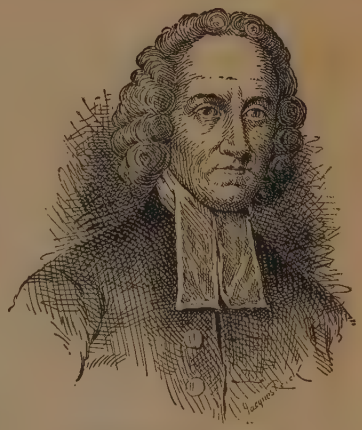
Trade and Manufactures. Six hundred vessels were engaged in the trade with England and foreign ports. Cargoes of fish and cattle and timber were exported and the ships in return brought manufactured goods from

Europe and sugar and molasses from the West Indies. The molasses was converted into rum and sold to the Indians, to the other colonies, and exchanged in Africa for slaves. The New England forests yielded an abundance of material for shipbuilding, and this became an important industry of that section, the colonial ships surpassing those built in England. Massachusetts in one year completed one hundred and fifty ships. The thrifty New Englanders soon learned also to manufacture their furniture and their tools and, on a small scale, a great many other articles. Parliament, in the interest of the English merchants, forbade the manufacture of certain articles in the colonies for export, but the colonists were free to manufacture articles for domestic use.

Religious Conditions. It was the desire of the Dissenters for an opportunity to worship God in their own way that led to the establishment of New England, and naturally religion had a strong hold on the life of the people. In Rhode Island there was complete religious toleration, but in all the other New England colonies the Congregational Church was established by law. Attendance at church was compulsory, and absence was punished by a fine or a day in the stocks or the pillory. The sound of the horn or the beat of the drum summoned the congregation to church and they responded in spite of rain or snow. The churches were without heat, but no matter how bitter the weather the Puritans sat patiently and reverently and listened to a three-hour sermon and a "long prayer" and several short ones. If a man or a boy dropped asleep he was awakened by a sharp rap with the knob on one end of the tithingman's rod. If a woman fell asleep she was recalled from the land of dreams by having her nose or chin tickled with a rabbit's foot at-

tached to the other end of the rod. The people were seated in the church according to their social rank and no one was permitted, under the social custom, to dress "above his degree."

Toward the close of the colonial era the Puritans had lost some of their religious fervor and had become more worldly. About this time there was a great religious revival in the towns of these colonies conducted by Rev. Jonathan Edwards, the most famous New England preacher of the period, and by Rev. George Whitefield, a missionary and evangelist from England. This revival was known as the "Great Awakening" and infused new spiritual life into the people of that section.



JONATHAN EDWARDS

Education. The Puritans held that ignorance was "one chief project of that old deluder, Satan," and next to religion they valued education. Ability to read the Bible was esteemed a necessary part of the preparation for life. They had scarcely become established in their new homes when they turned their attention to the education of their children. In 1647 it was ordered that common schools should be established in the towns. The teacher was often the minister, and the New England primer and the catechism were the chief textbooks. Besides Harvard College, which was established at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1636, there were three other colleges in New England in colonial times: Yale, in Connecticut, established

in 1701; Dartmouth in New Hampshire in 1750; and Brown in Rhode Island in 1764. There were few books or papers published in the colonies, although a printing press had been set up at Cambridge as early as 1674. There were some writers of note among the New England ministers, the chief of whom were Jonathan Edwards and Cotton Mather, both writers on religious topics.

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TRIAL OF GEORGE JACOBS, OF SALEM, MASS., FOR WITCHCRAFT

Salem Witchcraft. Massachusetts particularly suffered from the prevailing superstition of the times. In the seventeenth century there was a general belief in signs, in witches, and in "the evil eye," which superstitions developed a widespread "witch epidemic" in Massachusetts. The trouble had its origin in a simple incident. Some young girls imagined they had been bewitched, and

they accused a poor old woman of casting a "spell" on them. Other persons claimed to be under the "evil eye" of certain witches and these witches were tried in a special court conducted by the ministers. A common way to determine whether or not a woman was a witch was to throw her into the water; if she sank she was innocent, but if she floated she was guilty. The epidemic spread and a number of persons were thrown into loathsome prisons and nineteen were hanged. At length the fanaticism subsided, and at a later period the people bitterly repented the horrors caused by this delusion.

New England Towns. In the New England towns there were some fair mansions of stone and brick and some pretentious houses of "seven gables," but most of the homes were plain though comfortable and simply furnished with home made furniture. The big yards, with their quiet shade trees, were cool and inviting in the summer but bleak and desolate during the long winters. In every town there was a tavern for the accommodation of travelers, a schoolhouse, a church, and a block-house for protection against the Indians. The families gathered before the great open fireplaces in the kitchens and rehearsed stories of "dear old England." Sometimes there were house-raisings, and corn-huskings, and quilting bees, all of which attracted the neighbors and constituted important social gatherings. Thanksgiv-

"THE HOUSE OF SEVEN GABLES"

ing was the great festival of the year; then there were family reunions and fine dinners with turkey and pumpkin pie as the chief dishes.

NEW ENGLAND KITCHEN

The Middle Colonies. The middle colonies differed from the other two sections in that the majority of their people were not of English descent. They had come in great numbers from countries of Continental Europe; the Dutch had settled New York originally and in Pennsylvania there was a mixture of Germans, English Quakers, Scotch, and Scotch-Irish. All told there were about 400,000 people in these colonies, including indented servants and negro slaves. The middle colonies boasted two thriving towns, New York and Philadelphia. The latter was the largest city in all the colonies at that time and so remained until

after the Revolution, when New York gained the ascendency. Merchants and traders were numerous in the middle group. Class lines were more sharply drawn in New York than anywhere else in these colonies. At the very top of the social scale were the great landholders along the Hudson, many of whom were descendants of the old Dutch "Patroons." The professional men came next and then in order the merchants and laborers. In Pennsylvania there was very nearly social equality; there were few large estates and the people were peaceful and contented. There were very few slaves in this colony.

The people who settled in the middle colonies were thrifty and industrious and with the genial climate and fertile soil they prospered greatly. Agriculture was the chief industry in the river valleys and the grain and other products were shipped to the towns in big Conestoga

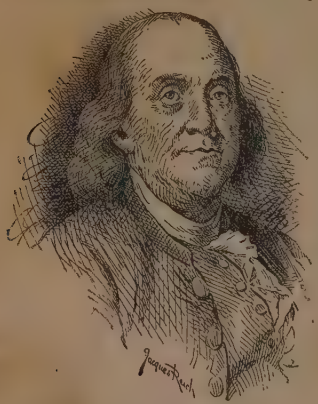
A CONESTOGA FREIGHT WAGON

wagons. The chief source of wealth of these colonies was trade with foreign countries and with the Indians. The Indian trade was very profitable; rum and a few trinkets were exchanged for valuable furs which were sold to foreign merchants at a rich profit. Despite the fact that

pirates infested the coasts, a strong foreign trade was developed. Philadelphia employed a fleet of four hundred vessels to carry each season's surplus products from her docks, and New York did nearly as much business. Fur, grain, and flour were important articles of export.

Education and Religion. In the middle colonies comparatively little attention was paid to public education, although the Dutch in New York had made some efforts in that direction. There were some excellent private schools in New York and Philadelphia, and the latter place early attained distinction as a center of learning. Philadelphia had two public libraries and several notable private libraries, and the city boasted a university, the University of Pennsylvania, established in 1731. There were two other colleges in the middle colonies, Princeton in New Jersey, established in 1746, and Kings (now Columbia) in New York, established in 1754.

Benjamin Franklin was the leading man of letters and his fame rested chiefly on his *Poor Richard's Almanac* with its homely sayings. Franklin was also a scientist; it was he who discovered that lightning is electricity. Pennsylvania had complete religious liberty; the spirit of kindliness and toleration in all things pervaded the colony. In New York many of the people belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church.



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

Manners and Customs. In the middle colonies there was both town life and country life. In Pennsylvania the people lived comfortably and with Quaker simplicity. New York

society was different in many respects from that prevailing in the other colonies. Most of the people were the plodding, thrifty Dutch and they clung to their old manners and customs. The "Patroons" lived like lords on their riverside estates with their tenants scattered for miles about them. The Dutch houses had high, steep roofs with gabled ends "notched like steps" with a weather vane on top and a stoop or little porch in front. The Dutch women were famous housekeepers; their floors were always freshly scrubbed and sanded and their pewter plates and cups shone almost like silver. In the summer evenings the family gathered on the stoop, the men smoking their long Dutch pipes and the women busy with their knitting. In the winter they gathered around great roaring logs in the open fireplace and spent the evenings in cozy comfort. The Dutch loved games and merrymaking. On St. Valentine's Day, May Day, Christmas, and New Year's they assembled by neighborhoods for spinning bees, balls, picnics, or horse racing and other means of recreation.

DUTCH HOME SCENE

American Characteristics. The varying conditions, hardships and isolation of these times developed those daring,

persevering, and resourceful qualities which made the self-reliant and constructive people of America. In all these early settlers there was an intense local pride and a strong feeling of local independence. Their remoteness from the mother country taught them to depend upon themselves and inspired confidence in their ability to govern themselves. In the course of time, as the different peoples of the colonies came into closer contact, they lost their original peculiarities and each contributed to the common stock the best qualities it possessed.

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

1. How many royal colonies were there in 1650? in 1750?
2. Were the people of the South as well educated as those of New England?
3. Did people read much in those days?
4. Of what different races was the population of Pennsylvania? Of New York?
5. What conveniences, now considered necessaries of life, were unknown in 1750?
6. Why should there be few slaves in Pennsylvania?
7. Why was New York the principal fur trading colony?
8. Make a list of instances in which colonial history came in contact with that of the West Indies.
9. The South sent many more of her sons to English universities than did New England. Why?

CHAPTER VII

FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS

Struggle for Possession. We have now recorded the founding of the English colonies along the Atlantic coastal plain in an unbroken line from Acadia on the north to Florida on the south, but this was not accomplished without opposition from others who wished to possess the soil. The first and most persistent opponent of English settlement was the Indian, who for years vainly endeavored to check the advance of the white man. There were also European rivals and competitors. The Dutch had established themselves in the Hudson and Delaware valleys but they were overcome and out of their territory grew the middle English colonies. To the far south the Spaniards held Florida and with the aid of Indian allies they attempted to destroy the Carolinas and Georgia. In all these conflicts the English proved masters. England's greatest rival for the possession of North America was France, the leading power in Europe at that time.

France and England Natural Rivals. The two nations were natural rivals and enemies; they differed in race, in religion, and in political ideals. Both were struggling for colonial and commercial supremacy and America was a prize for which they fought through a series of wars covering nearly a century. The hostility between the two nations was intensified in the New World by border troubles and by contact with the Indians whom one people or the other incited to deeds of horror.

New France and Louisiana. New France now was a vast province extending westward along the St. Lawrence to

the Great Lakes and dotted here and there with forts and fur trading stations. Enmity existed between the Iroquois and the French because of Champlain's unfortunate battle on the shores of Lake Champlain in 1609, but the powerful Algonquin tribes of the north and west were their friends and allies. Louisiana, the name given to the region drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries, was claimed by France through the discoveries of Marquette and Joliet and La Salle.

King William's War. The long struggle with England began in 1689. After the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688, which placed William and Mary on the English throne, Louis XIV of France aided James II, the deposed king, in an unsuccessful attempt to regain the throne. This act caused England to join the enemies of France in a war known in Europe as the War of the Grand Alliance (1689-1697) and in the colonies as King William's War. The strife began in this country with Indian attacks, inspired by the French governor, Frontenac, on the English settlements along the northern border. The towns of Dover in New Hampshire and Schenectady in New York were destroyed by savage marauders. In a raid on Haverhill, Massachusetts, Hannah Dustin was captured and after seeing her home burned and her infant child beaten to death she was carried into Canada. But with two companions, a woman and a boy, she surprised her captors in the dead of night, killed in all ten Indians and finally made her way home. The colonies offered large prizes for Indian scalps and in a short time determined bands were scouring the country in search of the red men. Later organized forces were sent out against the French and Port Royal was besieged and captured by an English fleet with 1,800 militia. But in 1697 peace was made and England restored the fort to France.

Queen Anne's War. The peace lasted only five years but they were hardly years of peace in America, for along the borders the French and the Indians continued the warfare by burning homes, slaughtering the settlers, and carrying women and children into captivity. In 1702 England and nearly all the remainder of Europe were again at war with France, this time because the aggressive Louis XIV was trying to unite the crowns of France and Spain and thereby increase his power which was already a menace to all Europe. This war of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713), or Queen Anne's War, as it was called in the colonies, was, in America, a continuation of Indian atrocities. The most horrible was the night attack upon Deerfield, Massachusetts, where the town was destroyed and the inhabitants were butchered or carried into captivity. The English settlers made another attack on Port Royal, which again surrendered and this time possession was retained. Spain was the ally of France in this war and until the close of the period of strife, her main efforts being directed against the Carolinas. The peace of Utrecht, in 1713, closed the war, and while France retained Canada and Louisiana, England forced an entering wedge into the French possessions by securing Acadia, Newfoundland, and the territory around Hudson Bay. This last named region had long been a source of trouble between the two nations on account of its facilities for trade. The name Acadia was changed to Nova Scotia and Port Royal was renamed Annapolis in honor of Queen Anne. Spain was forced to give England control of the slave trade.

French and English Expansion. Both nations realized that the peace was only temporary and the great struggle for the possession of America was yet to come. This interval of truce was a period of expansion by both France

and England. The English settled Georgia, and as immigration continued the older colonies extended westward to the crest of the Alleghenies and the colonists cast longing eyes upon the beautiful valley beyond. At the same time the French were realizing the dream of La Salle, and a long line of forts reached from Louisburg in the far north along the St. Lawrence and the lakes down the Mississippi to New Orleans at its mouth and even to Mobile. Chief among these forts were Niagara, Crown Point, Detroit, Vincennes, St. Louis, and New Orleans. The last named was founded by Bienville, a Frenchman, in 1718, and it became the metropolis of the great province of Louisiana. The French were thus scattered over a vast space, while the English were compactly hemmed in by the mountains and the sea. The English had built up homes in the New World and had become practically self-supporting, while the French had established hardly more than a series of garrisons and trading posts and were largely dependent on the mother country.

King George's War. In 1739 war broke out between England and Spain caused by trouble between the merchants and traders of both nations and by the desire of Spain to drive the English from the newly settled colony of Georgia. The English attacked Spanish settlements in South America and chased Spanish merchant ships around the globe. This conflict soon widened into the war of the Austrian Succession (1744-1748) in Europe, so-called because a scheme to divide the territory of Austria was the chief cause. In America the war is known as King George's War and here France and England took up again the struggle for possession. The one great event of the war in America was the capture of the strong fort, Louisburg, on Cape Breton Island by New England troops with

the aid of a British fleet. Without the colonists' knowledge or consent the fort was returned to France in the treaty of peace made in 1748. There was intense dissatisfaction throughout the colonies and a feeling that American interests had been sacrificed.

SIEGE OF LOUISBURG

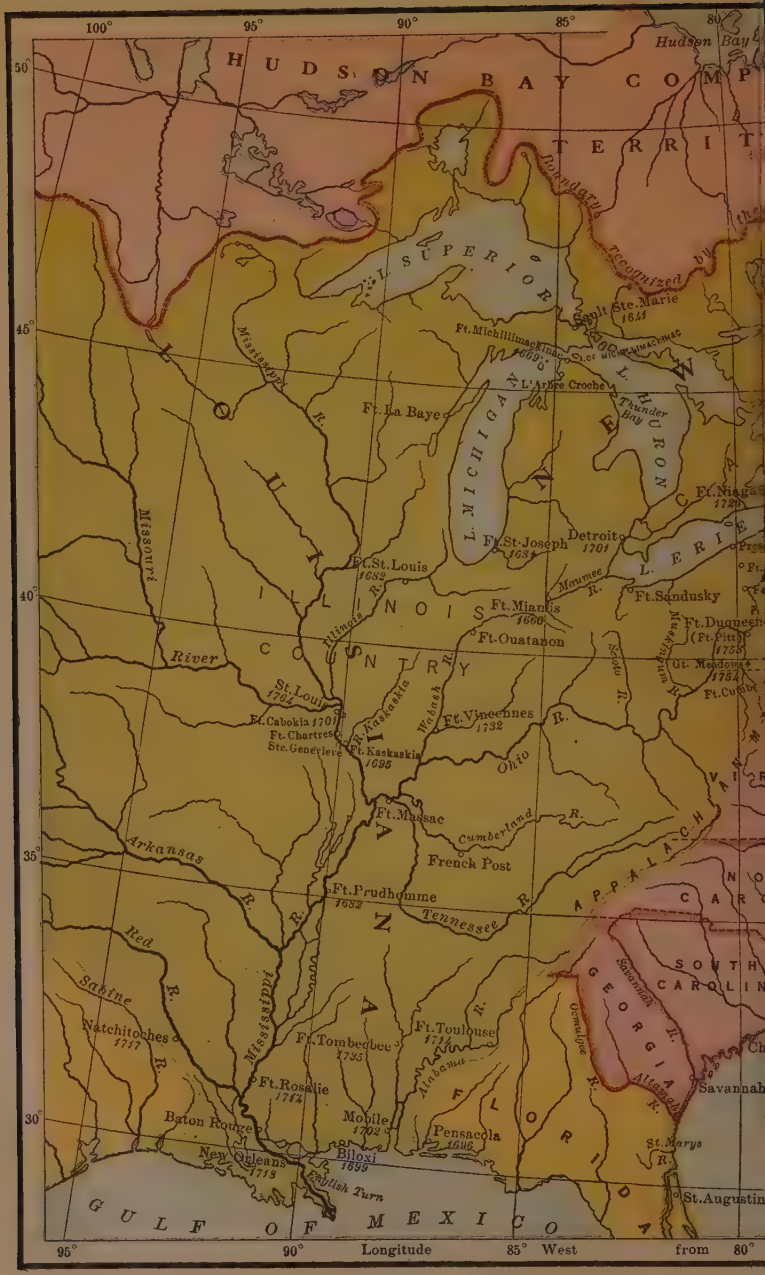
The Race for the Ohio Valley. Both France and England were awake to the immense importance of the Ohio valley which controlled the entrance to the very heart of Louisiana. In 1749 a land company known as the Ohio Company was formed by some London merchants and leading Virginians for the purpose of settling the region west of the mountains. In the same year the French sent an expedition southward from Lake Erie down the Allegheny and Ohio rivers to take possession of the land and drive out the English traders. In taking possession proclamations of ownership were issued, and leaden plates engraved with the arms of France were sunk along the banks of the rivers and streams, and metallic plates likewise engraved were nailed to the trees. Later the French began the erection

of a chain of forts in the Ohio region, the most important of which was Fort Duquesne at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers. It was this aggression that started the great struggle in the colonies in 1754, known as the French and Indian War.

Fight at Fort Necessity. The governor of Virginia had dispatched Major George Washington, who was then 21 years of age and who held the position of adjutant general of the colonial militia, to remonstrate with the French against their encroachment on British property. But Washington had his dreary and perilous journey over the mountains and through tangled forests to no avail, for the French refused to withdraw. Troops under his command were then sent to force an abandonment and at Great Meadows, a small valley in the mountain passes, the French were defeated and forced to retreat. But an army of French and Indians of twice their number returned and besieged the Virginians at Fort Necessity, which Washington had erected, and they were compelled to surrender.

WASHINGTON RETURNING FROM FORT DUQUESNE

Albany Congress. A few far-sighted colonial leaders realized that in the great struggle just beginning some kind of union was necessary whereby the colonies could enlist men, raise money, and make treaties to insure the aid of the mighty Iroquois Indians whom the French were trying



FRENCH POSTS AND FORTS AT THE

ING OF THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

to bribe. At the suggestion of the British government a Colonial Congress was held in 1754 at Albany, then a frontier town of 2,600 inhabitants. A plan of union was presented by Benjamin Franklin, providing for a president general over all the colonies and a congress consisting of representatives from all. The king rejected this plan because it placed too little power in the hands of the royal representative, and the colonies refused to ratify because it placed too much.

Braddock's Defeat. In 1755 England sent over General Braddock, a seasoned veteran, with two regiments of British regulars to wrest Fort Duquesne from the French.

DEATH OF GENERAL BRADDOCK

Braddock was a courageous soldier, but he knew nothing of fighting Indians, and he had too great a contempt for the raw colonial troops to take lessons from them. With his regulars and the Virginia militia under Colonel Washington, accompanied by fifty Indian scouts gay in war

paint and feathers, Braddock marched against Fort Duquesne. He would not consent for the militia to follow their own experience and fight in Indian fashion by lurking behind trees and by stealthy surprise, but he drew them up in English line of battle and as they fired, seemingly at nothing, a hail of bullets was poured upon them from ambush. The English were panic-stricken and the army would have been completely destroyed had it not been that the Virginians, more experienced in such warfare, scattered and fought after the maner of the frontiersmen. Braddock resisted bravely but this battle was his last. Four horses were shot under him and he fell mortally wounded. Washington, whose uniform was riddled with bullets succeeded to the command and saved the retreat from utter rout. After Braddock's defeat the western country from Pennsylvania to South Carolina suffered all the horrors of Indian attacks. Washington, with a force of Virginia riflemen, protected this long frontier.

Dispersion of the Acadians. English attacks on Crown Point and Niagara were likewise failures. The French Acadians who were permitted to remain in Nova Scotia after the Peace of Utrecht were never happy under British rule and refused to take the oath of allegiance to Great Britain. Their property was now seized and about 7,000 of them placed aboard transports and scattered throughout the English colonies from Maine to Georgia. Some of them found their way to the French settlements in Louisiana. This harsh treatment England considered necessary to maintain her hold on Nova Scotia and to protect the New England colonies from invasion.

War in Europe. In 1756 war broke out in Europe, known as the Seven Years War (1756-1763) again caused by a quarrel over the Austrian dominions. England and France

took opposite sides and continued their struggle in America. But until 1758 the war was a failure for the British. Poor commanders, lack of co-operation among the colonies, and hostility between the regulars and the "Buckskins," as the colonial troops were called, gave victory to the united French, ably commanded by the Marquis de Montcalm and aided by their ever faithful Algonquin allies. The turn in the tide came in 1758 when the conduct of military affairs was placed in the hands of William Pitt, the greatest Englishman of his time. He was vigorous, confident, and determined to win.

Fall of French Strongholds. The enemy's long line of defense extended from Louisburg to the Ohio valley, and Pitt planned to break this defense at three places, Louisburg, Fort Duquesne, and the center. In 1758, Louisburg fell before the combined strength of the English navy and the skill of General Amherst and General Wolfe. Fort Duquesne, the key to the Ohio valley, was captured in the same year by General Forbes, aided by a force of Virginians under Washington. The fort was renamed Pittsburg in honor of the great war minister. At Ticonderoga the British were defeated, but Fort Frontenac, which commanded the outlet of Lake Ontario, fell into their hands.

GENERAL WOLFE

Fall of Quebec. The entire French line of defense, with the exception of Quebec, soon fell into the hands of the English, and upon General Wolfe devolved the task of taking that stronghold. Situated on a high bluff rising almost vertically from the river, the town could be easily approached only from one side and that was defended by the gallant commander, Montcalm. After many months of unsuccessful siege Wolfe decided to try another approach. At length he found a zigzag pathway up the cliff, and on a moonless night in September he moved his daring army up this height of over two hundred feet. The soldiers struggled along, holding to bushes and tree stumps, and just at the peep of day they reached the high ground called the Plains of Abraham, and burst upon the astonished French defenders. After a brief and fierce engagement the English conquered, but the two great generals of the French and Indian War were killed in this combat. Both Wolfe and Montcalm received mortal wounds, and both died within a few hours. Wolfe, in his dying moments, expressed satisfaction at having won the victory, and Montcalm, with his dying words, consoled himself that he would not live to see Quebec pass into the hands of his foes.

GENERAL MONTCALM

Peace of Paris. Quebec fell in 1759. Four years later France and England entered into a peace treaty at Paris, under the terms of which England gained all of Canada and Louisiana as far west as the Mississippi, except New

Orleans. This city, with all of western Louisiana, France ceded to her ally, Spain, and this last-named country gave Florida to England. The French possessions had disappeared and Great Britain was now the ruling colonial power of the New World. Henceforth the colonies were free from the fear of French invasion, and, relieved of this anxiety, they felt less and less their dependence upon the mother country.

Pontiac's Conspiracy. In the same year in which peace was made between France and England, a great Indian conspiracy was formed. The Indians did not approve the

PONTIAC'S FIRE RAFT SENT DOWN THE RIVER TO DESTROY THE SHIPS

change of masters and had sworn that the English should never come into the Ohio valley so long as a red man lived. Pontiac, the powerful chief of the Ottawas, proposed a union of all the tribes to drive out the English. His messengers, bearing a wampum belt and a red stained hatchet, enlisted all the tribes between the Allegheny and the Mississippi, and for two years there was a reign of terror along the western frontier. Traders were waylaid in the forest and slaughtered, farm houses were destroyed,

and women and children were butchered in the most savage manner. The garrisons in the western wilderness were one by one surprised and their defenders massacred in cold blood or carried into captivity. Fort Pitt and Detroit alone held out. Two armed schooners guarded the fort at Detroit. In an attempt to destroy them, Pontiac sent blazing rafts down the river, but they missed the vessels and floated down stream without doing any injury. Troops were sent against the foe, and in 1765 Pontiac was compelled to sue for peace. Later he was murdered by one of his own race, and his body was buried where St. Louis now stands. With Pontiac conquered, there was peace on the frontier for many years.

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

1. What part of America did France claim? With what other claims did hers conflict?
2. Why should France be so anxious to control the Mississippi?
3. In what respects were English settlers superior to the French?
4. What caused the war between England and France in 1701?
5. Why should Louisburg and afterward Fort Duquesne be so important?
6. Explain the attitude of the Iroquois in the French-English struggle.
7. Did the colonies do their part in these wars?
8. What was Pitt's policy of conducting the war?
9. What effect would the conquest of Canada by the English have upon the colonies?
10. Why should the Indians of the west prefer the French rather than the English as masters?

SUGGESTED READINGS

Eggleston, *Beginners of a Nation*
Tyler, *England in America*
Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors* and *Beginners of New England*
A. M. Earle, *Home Life in Colonial Days* and *Child Life in Colonial Days*
Thwaites, *The Colonies and France in America*
Longfellow, *Courtship of Miles Standish* and *Evangeline*
Hawthorne, *Grandfather's Chair*
Irving, *Sketch Book*
Hart, *Source Readers*

PERIOD III.—THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

1760-1783

CHAPTER VIII

CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION

The New Colonial Policy. By her victories over the French Great Britain had become a great empire of which the American colonies formed a considerable part. The wars and the administration of such a vast dominion made heavy drains on the treasury and the public debt had increased from about $350,000,000 to $700,000,000, which was considered an enormous sum in that day. In order to bring the parts of the empire closer together and to make the colonies bear their part of this expense the British government determined upon a stricter colonial policy. The Navigation Acts and other Acts of Trade had been passed for the benefit of the English merchants in accordance with the theory which England and all other European countries held in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that colonies existed solely for the good of the mother country. These Acts, particularly the Molasses Act of 1733 and the restrictions on the market for rice and tobacco, were injurious to colonial trade and industry and they were openly violated. The enforcement of these Acts with certain changes for the benefit of the colonies was a part of the new program. Another important feature of the new plan was to raise the revenue in the colonies for the maintenance of troops among them and for the defense of their frontiers.

Results of the French and Indian Wars in the Colonies. After the French and Indian wars there was a change in the attitude of the colonies toward the mother country. The

conquest of Canada and the cession of Florida to the English, relieved the colonists of the dread of a foreign foe and they no longer looked to the mother country for protection. Moreover, they had developed a confidence in their strength and military ability, because they had fought side by side with British regulars and had proved themselves better frontier fighters than the seasoned veterans of European battlefields, and they resented the open contempt of the British officers and soldiers. They felt that they had done their part during the wars, the colonies having raised and equipped nearly 25,000 men and having incurred thereby a heavy burden of debt. The colonies, because of the conditions of their founding, because of their distance from the mother country, and because of long periods of neglect when England was engaged in civil or foreign wars, had developed into the freest communities on earth. Because they were so free they were impatient of control. At such a time trouble would almost inevitably come from a stricter enforcement of the colonial system.

King George III. Unfortunately England was at this time ruled by a king who "inflicted more profound and enduring injuries upon his country than any other modern English king." In 1760 George III had come to the throne. He was a well meaning man, but he was poorly educated and he had an exaggerated idea of his own importance and greatness. "George, be a king," had been his mother's injunction in his youth, and his one fixed purpose was to make Parliament subject to his will, to rule as well as reign. To do this he dismissed Pitt and the other Whig leaders and gathered around him a group of Tories known as the "King's Friends." To these men, none of them great statesmen, was entrusted the task of reforming the colonial system.

Writs of Assistance. The first part of the new plan was to enforce the navigation acts, but this was not an easy task. It was hard to secure evidence among the colonies of violations of these acts, and smuggled goods had a way of disappearing and escaping the vigilance of the British officers. In 1761 "Writs of Assistance" were issued to enable the customs officials of Boston to detect violations of the navigation acts. A writ of assistance was a sort of general search warrant good for an indefinite length of time, and it authorized officers to enter any warehouse or dwelling and completely ransack it in search of smuggled articles.

The people of Massachusetts resented this extraordinary process as a system of spying, and in a case testing the legality of the writs, James Otis, a brilliant young Boston lawyer, resigned the position of advocate (or prosecuting attorney) for the crown, to defend his countrymen of Massachusetts. In a fiery speech he declared the doctrine that "taxation without representation is tyranny," and that the colonies owed no respect to any law which they did not themselves enact. Otis denounced the "writs of assistance" as tyrannical measures which no act of Parliament could make legal under the English constitution. The exercise of such power as this, he said, "had cost one king of England his head and another his throne." The case was decided against Otis. But he had opened the great struggle for constitutional liberty in England and in the colonies.

JAMES OTIS

The Parsons' Cause and Patrick Henry. The first protest of Virginia was over what is known as the "Parsons' Cause," which had no connection whatever with the navigation acts or with the writs of assistance. In Virginia tobacco was the medium of exchange, and all salaries and debts were paid in this commodity. In 1758 there was a short crop and the Virginia Assembly passed the Tobacco Act which fixed salaries for one year in money at the rate of two-pence per pound, which was about the average price, although tobacco at the time was selling much higher.

PATRICK HENRY

The salary of the ministers of the Established Church, or the "Parsons," as the ministers were commonly called, had been sixteen hundred pounds of tobacco. They were dissatisfied with this new arrangement, and appealed to England to recover the difference between their new salaries and the amount which they would have received at the current price of tobacco. The crown vetoed the Tobacco Act and the clergymen brought suit in the local courts. The most famous case was that of the Reverend James Maury in which Patrick Henry, a young lawyer, appeared for the defendant, the minister's congregation. In his speech to the jury, Henry asserted that the veto had been exercised without regard to Virginia's welfare, and he declared that George III, in annulling the act of the Virginia Assembly, had played the part of a tyrant and had forfeited all right of obedience from his subjects. The jury gave the judgment for

one penny, which was, of course, in effect a denial of the suit and a defiance of the crown.

The Stamp Act. Parliament under the leadership of Lord Grenville, the prime minister, one of the "King's Friends," passed in 1765 the Stamp Act for the purpose of raising revenue in the colonies. This act provided that revenue stamps should be affixed to all legal documents, newspapers, wills, etc., and that the money accruing therefrom should be used for colonial defense. Such a tax was contrary to the American principle of self-government. The colonists maintained that the power of laying taxes for revenue in the colonies belonged to each colonial government and not to the English Parliament, for they were not represented in that body and could not well be, as it sat thousands of miles away. The view advanced by the British, that they were as fairly represented by the English members as the great majority of English people were, seemed to the colonists utterly absurd; the American idea was that each member of the colonial legislatures represented a body of people living in some definite area, and the English idea was that the members of Parliament represented the different classes of society in the British Empire. At the same time the Stamp Act became a law, the Quartering Act was passed under which the colonists were obliged to furnish quarters and provisions to British troops stationed among them in time of peace. This law added more fuel to the rapidly rising flame of discontent.

Opposition to the Stamp Act. Virginia led the resistance to the Stamp Act. Patrick Henry was the author of a series of resolutions declaring that taxation without representation was a menace to freedom and that the people of Virginia were not bound to obey any law which Parliament might pass without their consent. He closed the

memorable speech in which he presented these resolutions with the historic words: "Caesar had his Brutus, Charles I his Cromwell, and George III——" "Treason, treason," was shouted by some excited members of the Assembly, who jumped to their feet, but Henry continued without hesitation—"may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it." These resolutions were adopted by the Virginia assembly and were distributed broadcast throughout the colonies. They were a powerful factor in shaping public opinion against the act.

Riot and Boycott. Soon there was intense excitement all over the country concerning the Stamp Act. In many towns there were riots; mobs seized the revenue stamps and burned them or threw them into the sea. The revenue officials were forced to resign their offices and non-importation societies, called the "Sons of Liberty," were organized under pledges to resist the obnoxious law and to boycott English goods. When the day came for the law to go into effect newspapers appeared with a death's head where the stamp was supposed to be, bells were tolled, and flags floated at halfmast.

Stamp Act Congress. Meanwhile in October, 1765, at the suggestion of the Massachusetts Assembly, the Stamp Act Congress was assembled in New York. Only nine of the colonies were represented but the sentiment of all thirteen was unanimous in opposing the hated measure. Dread of the Indians and fear of the French had not been sufficient to bring the colonies into close union, but when they believed their liberties were threatened they came together instantly and with a determined purpose to make common resistance. The Congress drew up a declaration of rights and grievances and petitioned Parliament to repeal the Stamp Act. There was no threat of revolt, but

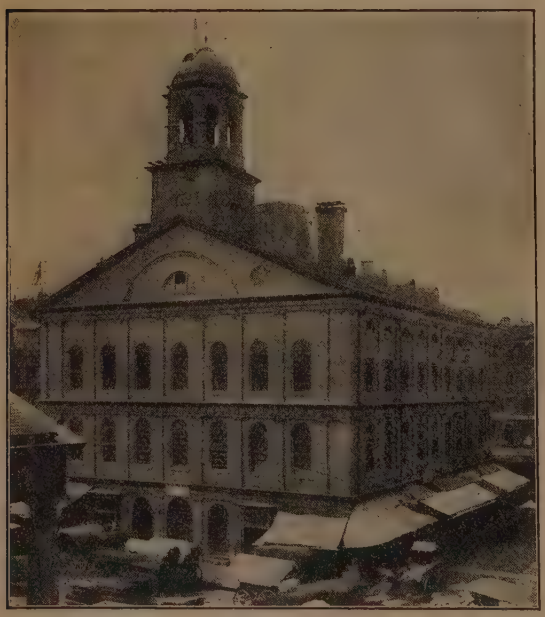
the resolutions were a strong hint to England that she might strain the endurance of the colonies to the breaking point unless their desires were granted.

Repeal of the Stamp Act. There was stern resistance in the English Parliament to this act. The great Pitt, Edmund Burke, and other liberal English Whigs contended for the same rights which the Americans asserted, and rejoiced that they had resisted. They openly espoused the cause of the colonists and urged the repeal of the law. British merchants who were suffering from the loss of colonial markets also petitioned for its repeal. After a fierce debate of three months the Stamp Act was repealed in 1766, but at the same time another act was passed declaring the right of the British government to tax the colonies. This was known as the "Declaratory Act." In America the repeal of the Stamp Act was received with the wildest joy. There were celebrations in every town and there were widespread expressions of loyalty to King George III.

Townshend Acts. The very next year after the repeal of the Stamp Act the quarrel over taxation broke out afresh. A new British ministry had been formed with Charles Townshend as its leader. He was determined that the Declaratory Act should be put into effect, and King George indorsed his policy. Through Townshend's influence Parliament laid import duties on tea, glass, paper, lead, and a few other articles imported into the colonies. The proceeds from these duties were to be used to pay the salaries of the royal governors and other colonial officers appointed by the crown, in order that the colonial legislatures could exercise no control whatever over them. The same Parliament enacted another law which dissolved the New York Assembly because that body refused to

provide quarters for the British troops. A great wave of indignation spread over the colonies from New England to Georgia. Samuel Adams drew up for the Massachusetts Assembly a petition to the king and a bold circular letter to all the colonies urging co-operation in protest against the act. The Virginia legislature condemned the taxes and appealed for united action in a petition to the crown. Boycotts against the use of English goods were again agreed to among the people.

The Boston Massacre. The king ordered the circular letter to be suppressed, and, by way of answer to the petition of Massachusetts, he sent troops to Boston to enforce the Townshend Acts, and armed vessels guarded the entrance to the harbor. The presence of soldiers in the town was hateful to the people and the "Red Coats," as the English soldiers were called, were subjected to insults and abuse. At last one evening in March, 1770, after the soldiers had been quartered in Boston about a year and a half, a crowd



FANEUIL HALL

of citizens attacked them with stones and sharp pieces of ice. The soldiers fired into the crowd and three persons were killed and several others were wounded. The prompt arrest of the soldiers who fired the shots was all that prevented a terrible encounter between the troops and the citizens. The next day a mass meeting was assembled in Faneuil Hall, the market house, which proved to be too small to accommodate all who attended, and the meeting

BOSTON MASSACRE

was transferred to the Old South Church, where Samuel Adams in a fiery speech demanded that the troops be removed from the city. To avoid further trouble they were removed to a little island in Boston Harbor. Later they were tried by a Boston jury and acquitted.

Repeal of the Townshend Acts. The Townshend Acts were a failure. They had produced practically no revenue

and they had brought the colonies to the verge of rebellion. Before the news of the "Boston Massacre" had reached England Parliament repealed all the Townshend taxes except that on tea, which was retained through the insistence of the stubborn and misguided king. "There must be one tax to keep the right to tax," said George. The colonists pledged themselves not to drink tea upon which the tax had been laid, but the boycott on other English goods was raised and the commerce between England and the colonies began to improve.

The Battle of Alamance. There was a lull for the next two or three years in the quarrel between the colonies and the mother country. During this interval North Carolina was the scene of a serious disturbance, known as the "War of the Regulators." In this colony civil power was centralized in the hands of the governor and a few leaders in the coast counties who imposed heavy taxes and other burdens upon the people. The settlers in the back country formed an association known as the "Regulators" for the purpose of upholding their rights; and, peaceful means having failed, they rose in revolt against this centralized power. Governor Tryon and his followers, who were known as "Moderators," marched against the settlers with more than a thousand militia. They met in the bloody battle of Alamance, May 16, 1771. Here the Regulators were defeated, and seven of their number were hanged as outlaws. This struggle in North Carolina influenced the Revolution in that it set the minds of men generally upon armed resistance to Great Britain.

The West at the Beginning of the Revolution. Many settlers of the back country despairing of obtaining justice moved westward under the leadership of James Robertson and John Sevier and carved out homes in the wilderness

of what is now Tennessee. Settlers from Virginia and other colonies, moved by the desire for land and the spirit of adventure, had pushed beyond the "fall line" to the Allegheny Mountains, and following the trails of the deer to the salt licks, had gone into the fertile valleys beyond. Daniel Boone in 1769 had blazed the old "Wilderness Trail" and gone into Kentucky. Many sturdy emigrants followed this brave pathfinder and made homes beyond the mountains. A terrible Indian war broke out along the upper Ohio which checked the advance of western settlement. The Indians were defeated at Point Pleasant in 1774 and for a time there was peace along the frontier. At the outbreak of the Revolution, Kentucky was organized as a county of Virginia.

DANIEL BOONE

Committees of Correspondence. In the meantime quarrels over the payment of colonial officials sent out by England and the attempts of the customs officers to check smuggling caused ill feeling to become more and more intense. In Massachusetts, Samuel Adams organized committees of correspondence which undertook to keep all the towns in the colony advised of the progress of the movements in resistance to English policy. The Virginia House of Burgesses went further, and adopted resolutions for the organization of inter-colonial committees of correspondence.

The Tea Tax. At this critical time, when the colonies were prepared to act together easily and quickly by means

of these committees, the king revived the question of taxation. Although the tax on tea had not been repealed, it commanded no revenue because the colonists refused to use tea shipped from England. George III, with Lord North, the prime minister, as his ready tool, decided to help the English East India Company, which was threatened with bankruptcy as a result of the loss of colonial markets, and at the same time beguile the Americans into drinking English tea. The king's plan was to remove the

BOSTON TEA PARTY

duty heretofore collected at the English ports, and to retain the tax to be paid by the colonies, on tea shipped to the colonies. This tax was so slight that the price of tea plus the duty was less than the price of smuggled tea.

The Tea Party. Cargoes of tea were sent to the colonies late in the fall of 1773. In Philadelphia and New York the ships were sent back to England without being permitted to unload. A cargo of tea was thrown overboard

at Wilmington, North Carolina. At Charleston, South Carolina, the tea was stored in warehouses and after the outbreak of war it was sold and the money put in the public treasury. The *Peggy Stewart,* a British vessel, arrived at Annapolis, Maryland, with a cargo of tea, but the people refused to permit the tea to be landed. The vessel was run ashore and a mob set fire to hull and cargo. At Boston three tea-laden ships were riding at anchor in the harbor, but the citizens watched day and night to prevent the discharge of their cargoes. At length, one clear, cold night in December an Indian war-whoop pierced the air and instantly a band of fifty persons, disguised as Mohawk Indians, rushed through the quiet town down to the harbor, boarded the ships, and dumped the tea, bale after bale, into the sea. This drastic action was greeted with public rejoicing throughout the colonies.

The Intolerable Acts. The Boston tea party attracted more attention in England than the rest because Massachusetts was regarded as an old offender. The king was determined to make an example of the colony and humble the Americans, once for all. Parliament passed in quick succession five acts known in America as the "Intolerable Acts." First, the port of Boston was closed to the commerce of the world until the tea was paid for and English warships were required to maintain a blockade of the port. Second, the charter of Massachusetts was annulled and free government in that colony was destroyed. Third, all persons accused of certain crimes must be sent to England for trial. Fourth, troops were to be quartered on the people of Boston. Fifth, the Quebec Act extended the boundaries of that province southward to the Ohio River. The colonists regarded this as an attempt to keep them out of the west and shut them in between the mountains and

the sea. The other colonies considered Massachusetts as suffering in the common cause and from them all came expressions of sympathy and proffers of aid. Provisions of all sorts were sent to the city and Salem offered the use of her wharves free of charge to the Boston merchants. George Washington offered to arm and equip 1,000 men at his own expense and march to the relief of Boston. The Virginia Assembly set aside June 1, 1774, the day the Boston Port Bill was to go into effect, as a day of fasting and prayer and recommended a congress of all the colonies to act in this crisis.

First Continental Congress. The Virginia suggestion met with a quick response and on September 5, 1774, delegates from all the colonies except Georgia met at Philadelphia. This body was not a congress in our modern sense, but merely a meeting for consultation of the leaders of the party most strongly opposed to the policy of the mother country. The delegates drew up a declaration of rights and a petition which were sent to the king. A new boycott association was formed in which all the colonies pledged themselves not to import goods from England and an agreement was made to discontinue the slave trade. The First Continental Congress was in session seven weeks and adjourned to meet in May, 1775, provided there was no redress of grievances in the meantime.

Lexington and Concord. While awaiting an answer from the crown to the declaration of rights, preparations were made throughout the colonies for armed resistance. In Massachusetts, in particular, events were rapidly approaching a crisis. General Gage, in command at Boston, was appointed royal governor for the colony of Massachusetts, but his authority was ignored beyond the city. The people still maintained their own legislature just as if their

charter had not been annulled, arms were collected, bands of minute-men were organized in every town, and military drills were held quietly at eventide on the village greens. General Gage determined to seize the ammunition that the colonists had collected and to arrest the popular leaders, Samuel Adams and John Hancock, and send them to England for trial. On the night of April 18, 1775, a body of eight hundred regulars was sent to Lexington to arrest the leaders and to move on to Concord and capture the stores. The British had taken every precaution for secrecy but the vigilance of the patriots was equal to the occasion. Paul Revere, a valiant son of liberty, at the signal from the belfry of the North Church, galloped forth into the night, shouting at every door, as he dashed along, the thrilling news, the "British are coming." The regulars reached Lexington in the early morning to find Captain John Parker and a determined little band of minute-men awaiting them. "Disperse, ye villains," shouted Major Pitcairn in command of the advance guard of the British, but the Americans stood as motionless as a stone wall and immediately the firing began. When the smoke lifted eight patriots were lying

OLD NORTH CHURCH

dead and ten others were wounded. The British moved on to Concord, but most of the stores had been hidden, and they encountered a large militia force who gave stubborn resistance.

Retreat to Boston. The British were compelled to retreat and at every point on the way they were assailed from behind rocks, fences, and trees by patriot soldiers armed with such weapons as they could secure. The fighting

RETREAT OF THE BRITISH FROM CONCORD

did not cease until the British found protection under the guns of the king's ships in Boston Harbor. The British had lost 273; the Americans 93. When the news of Lexington and Concord spread throughout New England, men seized whatever weapons they had and hastened toward Boston. Within a few weeks there were 16,000 patriot soldiers ready for organization and action. The report of these engagements spread quickly to the other colonies and soon the whole country was in rebellion.

Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Exactly three weeks after the battle of Lexington the strong fortress of Ticonderoga, which guarded the entrance to Canada, was surrendered to Ethan Allen and his "Green Mountain Boys," who demanded it in the name of the "Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." Crown Point also fell into the hands of the Vermonters. The captured stores from these two points were dragged across the country to the militia at Boston. The Green Mountain country was claimed by both New Hampshire and New York but the people refused to recognize the authority of either colony and organized themselves into a separate colony. Its existence was not recognized until after the Revolution.

ETHAN ALLEN

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

1. Name some leading colonial exports and their destination.
2. Why did the "Parson's Cause" arouse such indignation in Virginia?
3. What was the Quartering Act? Why should the colonists resist it?
4. What was the Englishman's view of representation? The American's?
5. What was the West of Revolutionary days?
6. Did the battle of Alamance have any connection with the quarrel with the mother country?
7. What is meant by external and internal taxes?
8. What was the fundamental cause of the Revolution?
9. Describe the scenes at a farmer's home as they probably occurred after hearing Paul Revere's message. Do you suppose word was sent to neighbors and kinsmen who lived back from the road?

CHAPTER IX

THE WAR IN THE NORTH AND ON THE SEA

The Second Continental Congress. On May 10, 1775, the Second Continental Congress met at Independence Hall in Philadelphia. All of the colonies were represented. The Tories or loyalists, as those who supported the policy of England were called, took little part in the election of the delegates, so the Congress was composed largely of Whigs or patriots. Nevertheless, they drew up another declaration of rights, and sent a final petition to King George. But hostilities had already begun and the new Congress was compelled to prepare for action. A call was issued for recruits from the colonies to re-enforce the militia around Boston and constitute an army. George Washington, the foremost military figure of the colonies, was appointed commander-in-chief. This was a happy choice, for all men respected and trusted the illustrious Virginian. In his speech of acceptance, Washington stated that he would not receive any pay for his services except his actual expenses. Later Congress authorized a navy and the operation of privateers to attack the merchant ships of Great Britain.

Battle of Bunker Hill. Before the newly appointed commander-in-chief could reach Boston the British and the militia had met in a stubborn fight. In May, 1775, General Gage had been strongly re-enforced by regulars under Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne, and the only danger that threatened the British positions was the group of surrounding hills from which the patriots might cannonade the city. Gage planned to fortify the hills on Charlestown

peninsula which commanded the city from the north, but the Americans anticipated his purpose. On the night of June 16, a force of 1,500 Americans under Colonel Prescott advanced past Bunker Hill in Charlestown and fortified Breed's Hill, which better commanded the town and harbor. All night long they toiled and early morning light revealed their earthworks to the astonished British. General Howe with 3,000 regulars attempted to take the hill by assault. Twice the courageous English soldiers dashed up the hill only to be repulsed by the deadly fire of the patriot marksmen. On the third charge the Americans found their powder exhausted and although they fought back the enemy for a short time with their gun-stocks and with stones, they were compelled to yield. The British gained the fort, but this fight known to history as the Battle of Bunker Hill, had cost them fully one-third of their number and they realized something of the pluck and determination of the American rebels.

BUNKER HILL MONUMENT

Washington and the Army. On July 3, under a great elm on Cambridge Common Washington formally assumed command of the army. These men were nearly all New Englanders but there soon came riflemen from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. For many months the com-

mander-in-chief labored to organize and discipline this raw militia into an effective fighting force. A uniform of buff and blue was adopted, and by the beginning of the new year the first American flag floated over the headquarters at Cambridge. But the waiting army saw winter melt into spring before Washington was ready to strike another blow.

WASHINGTON ELM AT CAMBRIDGE

Unsuccessful Attack on Canada. While Washington's army was drilling before Boston, a daring expedition was directed against Canada for the purpose of preventing invasion of the colonies from the north. General Richard Montgomery, who had served under Wolfe at Quebec, led about 1,500 men into Canada by the Lake Champlain route and took possession of Montreal. Benedict Arnold in the meantime had made a march through the Maine wilderness in the dead of winter at the cost of about half of his army. With about five hundred men he waited before Quebec for Montgomery who arrived December 3, with a small force. On the last day of the year 1775, in a blinding snowstorm, the little army, only about 1,200 strong, attacked the fortress. Montgomery was killed and Arnold was severely wounded, and in spite of the most desperate bravery the Americans were repulsed.

Boston Evacuated. On the night of March 3, 1776, with 2,000 men, Washington seized and fortified Dorchester Heights, about two miles south of Boston. All night long the Americans kept up an incessant cannonade from Washington's camp at Cambridge in order to drown the noise of moving armies and the sound of pick and hammer. The next morning the British were as much surprised as on the morning of the Bunker Hill battle to see the American fortifications frowning upon them. General Howe, who had succeeded General Gage in command of the city, evacuated the town and with his army numbering 10,000 soldiers and sailors and about 1,000 loyalist refugees sailed for Halifax. His abandoned stores and supplies enriched the patriot camp at Cambridge. Thus, at one stroke Washington cleared New England of the enemy.

Operations in the South. The southern colonies were also the scene of strife. In Virginia, Lord Dunmore, the royal governor, alarmed at the revolutionary spirit of the people, seized the military stores at Williamsburg. Patrick Henry with a company of volunteers marched to the capital and made the governor agree to pay for the powder. Later Lord Dunmore fled to a British man-of-war, and proclaiming the colony in a state of rebellion, he sailed along the rivers destroying property as he went, and on January 1, 1776, he burned the town of Norfolk. This piece of wanton destruction roused Virginia and all America to more intense resistance.

In North Carolina the patriot cause was victorious in the opening months of this memorable year. The loyalists were strong in the Carolinas and Georgia, and Sir Henry Clinton was sent from Boston to the Cape Fear River before the close of January to co-operate with them and restore royal authority in the south. An army of 1,600

loyalists started to the coast to meet the British forces but was met by a patriot force, 1,000 in number, under Colonel James Moore at Moore's Creek Bridge. Here on February 27, a fierce battle was fought in which the patriots were victorious; they captured a great quantity of military supplies and nine hundred loyalist prisoners, with their commander. Soon 10,000 men were armed and ready to expel the invader.

Moultrie at Charleston. But Clinton sailed past Cape Fear and in June attacked Charleston, South Carolina. Colonel Moultrie, in defense of the American position, had constructed a rude defense of palmetto logs and sand to protect the city, and the balls from the British guns sank harmless into this fortification. During the bombardment the American flagstaff was cut by a cannon ball, the flag falling outside the fort. Brave Sergeant Jasper leaped over the fortification in the midst of flying shot, gathered up the fallen banner, and again planted it on the bastion. The guns of the Americans did such deadly work on Clinton's vessels that he was compelled to withdraw his fleet and he sailed northward to co-operate with General Howe who was bearing down upon New

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MONUMENT TO SERGEANT JASPER

York. For more than two years the southern states were free from invasion.

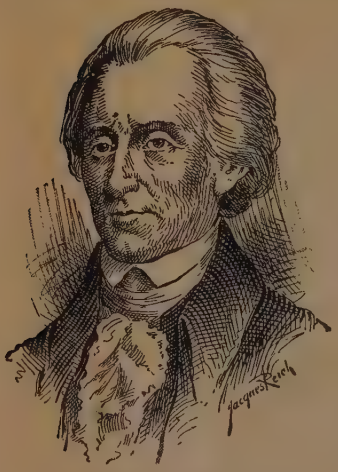
Declaration of Independence. Thus far the colonies had been struggling primarily to maintain their rights as subjects of the British crown. But when the news came that the king had contemptuously rejected their petition for a peaceable redress of grievances, had denounced them as rebels and traitors, and had hired foreign soldiers, the hated Hessians, to reduce them to submission, then the colonists abandoned all hope of reconciliation.[1] The several colonies realized that they must act in concert, for none was strong enough to act alone with hope of success. As Benjamin Franklin humorously put it, "We must all hang together or we shall all hang separately." The Second Continental Congress, however, like the first, was only an advisory body and could not take such an important step as to declare independence without explicit instructions from the several colonies.

To North Carolina belongs the honor of first instructing her delegates for independence. As early as May, 1775, the people of Mecklenburg County adopted resolutions of independence, and after the fight at Moore's Creek the sentiment had spread throughout all North Carolina. The revolutionary spirit in Virginia was deepened by the tyrannies of Lord Dunmore. In a Virginia convention, Patrick Henry, the famous orator, declared, "An appeal to arms and to the God of hosts is all that is left us. Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God!

[1]The American war was unpopular in England, making it difficult to get recruits. So England was forced to employ foreign mercenaries in this war. The Hessians receive their name from Hesse-Cassel, because it was from the prince of this state that the king of England secured a large number of his German mercenaries.

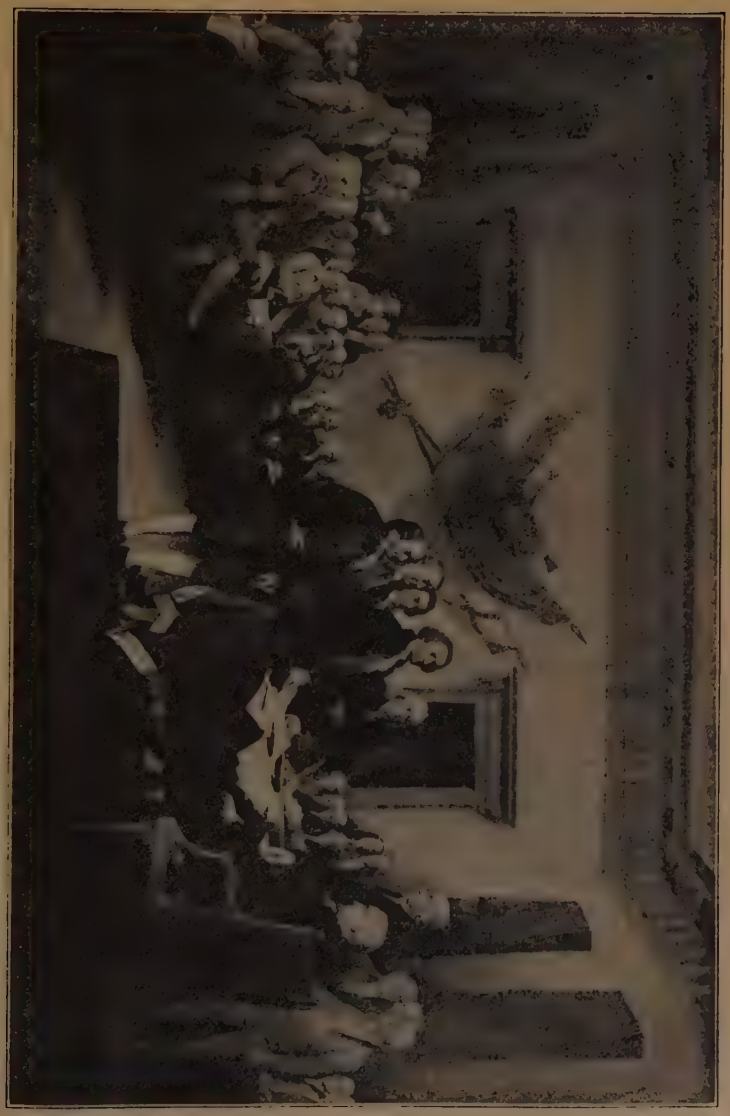
I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death." In response to this resolute sentiment, which reflected the will and purpose of the people, the Virginia convention instructed their delegates in Congress to propose that the united colonies be declared free and independent states.

On June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia offered in Congress the resolution "that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states." John Adams of Massachusetts seconded the resolution but the vote was postponed three weeks until all the delegates could receive instructions from their states, meanwhile a committee of five was appointed to draw up a Declaration of Independence. Thomas Jefferson, a youthful Virginian, the leading member of this committee, drafted the immortal document. On July 4, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was adopted and the united colonies became the United States of America. The news of the great event was proclaimed to the expectant people in the city of Philadelphia by the triumphant pealing of the Liberty Bell. The Declaration inspired the patriots with a renewed determination to commit their lives, their fortunes, and their honor to the sacred cause of liberty.



RICHARD HENRY LEE

The Attack on the Center. Having failed in New England and in the South, the British planned to take the Hudson valley and thus divide the northern and southern



MEMBERS OF CONGRESS SIGNING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

colonies in order that the British navy, which had control of the sea, might in turn subdue each section. Consequently, for the next two years the middle group of colonies bore the brunt of the war. Washington anticipated the plan of Howe to obtain possession of the mouth of the Hudson, so he moved his army of 18,000 men from Boston to New York in April, 1776. Forts Lee and Washington were built on opposite sides of the Hudson River above the city. Brooklyn Heights, on Long Island, was fortified in order to command the approach from the sea, and General Putnam was stationed there with some 9,000 soldiers. New York's extensive waterfront made it difficult to hold without control of the sea, but Washington hoped to delay the enemy as long as possible.

The Fight for New York City. The British fleet came down from Halifax with General Howe and 25,000 English troops. This force was landed on Staten Island. Howe's first move was to attack the advance force of the Americans under Sullivan at the southern end of Long Island, defeating them and taking about 1,000 prisoners, including Sullivan himself. He then prepared to lay siege to Brooklyn Heights. Washington, realizing that he could not hold his position, executed one of those brilliant movements for which he became famous. Silently, in the dead of night, his army with all its stores and artillery was ferried across East River to New York, leaving the English to move upon empty earthworks. With the British in possession of Brooklyn Heights, Washington could not long remain in New York City, and his next move was to fall back to Harlem Heights. Just as the rear guard of his army was leaving the city Howe was coming in. There was skirmishing between the two armies at Harlem Heights and White Plains. Forts Washington and Lee

REVOLUTIONARY WAR—CAMPAIGNS IN THE NORTH

fell into the hands of the British and Washington moved southward into New Jersey while General Howe returned to New York, which from that time until the close of the war was the refuge of the American Loyalists. It was during this campaign that Nathan Hale, a young Connecticut captain, volunteered his services to Washington to go as a spy within the British line to ascertain the plans and the strength of the enemy. He was betrayed by a Tory kinsman and was hanged without trial. He died bravely with these words on his lips: "I regret that I have but one life to give for my country."

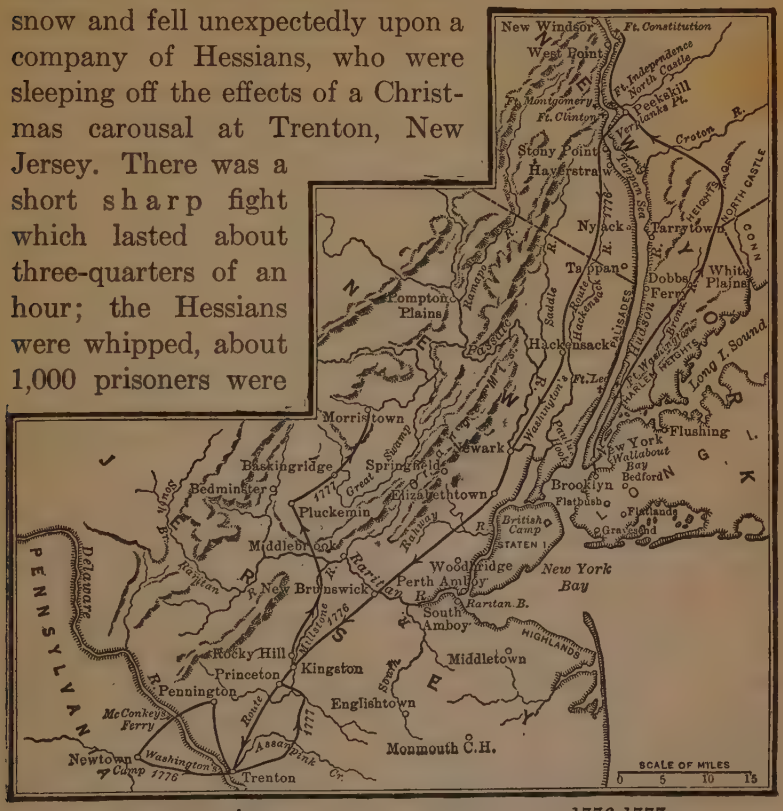
The New Jersey Campaign. When Washington crossed to the Jersey side of the Hudson, General Charles Lee with his reserve force which had been left on the east side of the river, had been ordered to join him at once. General Lee was an English adventurer in the American army who aspired to be commander-in-chief and thought he saw in Washington's present difficulty an opportunity to realize his ambitions. He at first ignored the order and then moved slowly southward while Washington was retreating before the overpowering force of the enemy. Meanwhile, Lee wrote letters to Congress suggesting the commander-in-chief's removal, and that he be made dictator. Fortunately, Lee was captured by the British and his army under Sullivan hastened to Washington's assistance. The outlook for the patriot cause at this time could not have been more discouraging. Lord Cornwallis, to whom Howe had entrusted the Jersey campaign, was so confident of immediate victory that he was packing his effects ready to start home. As soon as the Delaware River should freeze over so that the English troops might go across, he hoped to take the "rebel capital" at Philadelphia and end the contest at once.

Financial Difficulties. Philadelphia was panic stricken and the congress fled to Baltimore. Many American soldiers had lost heart in the face of the repeated disasters and the army was dwindling day by day. Washington was compelled to pledge his own private fortune for the pay of the soldiers and Robert Morris, the great financier of the Revolution, gave liberally of his own money and went from house to house in Philadelphia borrowing to maintain the American cause. If it had not been for the financial ability and the perseverance of this man it is hardly possible that the War of Independence could have been sustained. Congress lacked the power to tax the people and it was always difficult to raise money by requisitions on the states. Money was borrowed from France and Holland, and Congress issued millions of paper dollars, but with nothing to redeem them they quickly depreciated in value. Before the war closed this continental currency was practically worthless. Tea sold for $90.00 a pound and Samuel Adams paid $2,000 for a suit of clothes and a hat. The country faced in one crisis the peril of overwhelming numbers and the utter collapse of its credit.

ROBERT MORRIS

Trenton and Princeton. But in these "times that tried men's souls" Washington's courage never failed. He was made military dictator for six months and he determined to risk all upon one bold stroke, which he said his dire necessity must justify. Crossing the Delaware on Christ-

mas night in 1776, his little army, heavily encumbered with baggage and struggling with the ice floes in the river, marched through the sleet and snow and fell unexpectedly upon a company of Hessians, who were sleeping off the effects of a Christmas carousal at Trenton, New Jersey. There was a short sharp fight which lasted about three-quarters of an hour; the Hessians were whipped, about 1,000 prisoners were



WASHINTON'S CAMPAIGN IN THE WINTER OF 1776-1777

taken and paraded through the streets of Philadelphia, and a large supply of stores was captured. The American loss was two killed, two frozen to death, and a number wounded. This victory put new zeal into the people. Many volunteers enlisted and a large force of Pennsylvania militia joined Washington's army.

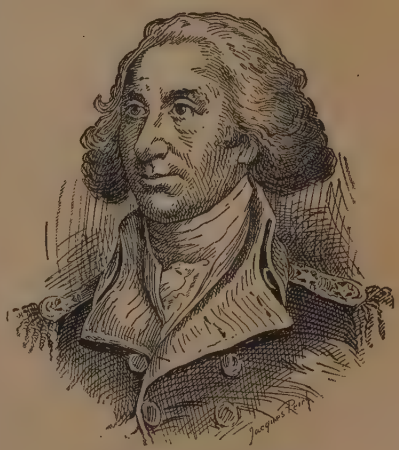
After this unexpected battle Cornwallis hurried to Trenton with a force of 8,000. "At last we have run down the old fox," he said, "and we will bag him in the morning." Washington realized that he could not afford to risk a battle with the superior forces of the British under Cornwallis and he resolved upon another sudden and secret movement. Keeping his camp fires brightly burning all night and leaving a few men busily engaged in throwing up earthworks within hearing of the British sentinels, Washington silently moved his entire army around Cornwallis and made a midnight march to Princeton, where, on the morning of January 3, 1777, he surprised and defeated three British regiments. Cornwallis immediately started in pursuit, but he was too late; Washington had already escaped to Morristown, a strong position that controlled New Jersey, and there entered into winter quarters. Washington had overcome a force several times larger than his own and had reclaimed all the territory conquered by the British except New York City. This brilliant campaign placed him among the great generals of all history.

ROUTES OF BURGOYNE AND ST. LEGER, 1777

Campaign in Northern New York. In 1777 the British

made an attempt to seize the upper Hudson and the Mohawk valleys as a continuation of the attack on the center started the preceding year. Three different British armies were organized to penetrate the state of New York from three different directions. First, a force of 10,000 men under General John Burgoyne was to come from Canada by the way of Lake Champlain and Lake Ticonderoga and move on to Albany. Second, a force of 2,000 men under Colonel St. Leger was to sail up the St. Lawrence into Lake Ontario, land at Oswego, and re-enforced by Tories and Indian allies, he was to take Fort Stanwix, come down the Mohawk valley and join Burgoyne at Albany. Third, Howe was to move up the Hudson with a force of not fewer than 18,000 and meet the other two armies. The combined armies were then to crush out the rebellion in one final movement.

Burgoyne's Invasion. Burgoyne advanced up Lake Champlain with a strong force, including British regulars and Hessians, Canadian militia and Indian allies. Capturing Ticonderoga, he moved southward, Gen. Philip Schuyler, with 4,000 Americans retreating before him. But as Schuyler fell back he destroyed all bridges, cut down trees, and by other devices impeded the onward march of the enemy to such an extent that Burgoyne covered only twenty-six miles in twenty-four days. The



GENERAL SCHUYLER

retreating patriots had removed all the cattle and provisions from the country and the forces of Burgoyne had to depend upon Canada or England for supplies. In the meanwhile the American forces were recruited by volunteers, and Washington, who was still at Morristown watching Howe, sent re-enforcements under Benedict Arnold and Lincoln, also Daniel Morgan with his famous Virginia sharpshooters.

Bennington and Oriskany. Burgoyne was desperate for want of provisions and sent a detachment of troops to Bennington to seize American stores that had been collected there. But brave John Stark and his New Hampshire boys routed the British at Bennington, August 16, 1777. "They are ours tonight or Molly Stark is a widow," he had cried. Other disasters to the British came thick and fast. The army under St. Leger, re-enforced at Oswego by Tories and by Indian allies under the great Mohawk chief Joseph Brant, moved against Fort Stanwix. General Nicholas Herkimer with a body of militia marching to the relief of the fort encountered St. Leger's force in a deep ravine near Oriskany and here, in the midst of a terrific thunder storm, was fought one of the bloodiest battles of the whole war. It was a hand to hand encounter with pistols and knives, by shooting and stabbing, and beating out each other's brains in truly savage fashion. The struggle ended with the Americans in possession of the field. Arnold was advancing to

DANIEL MORGAN

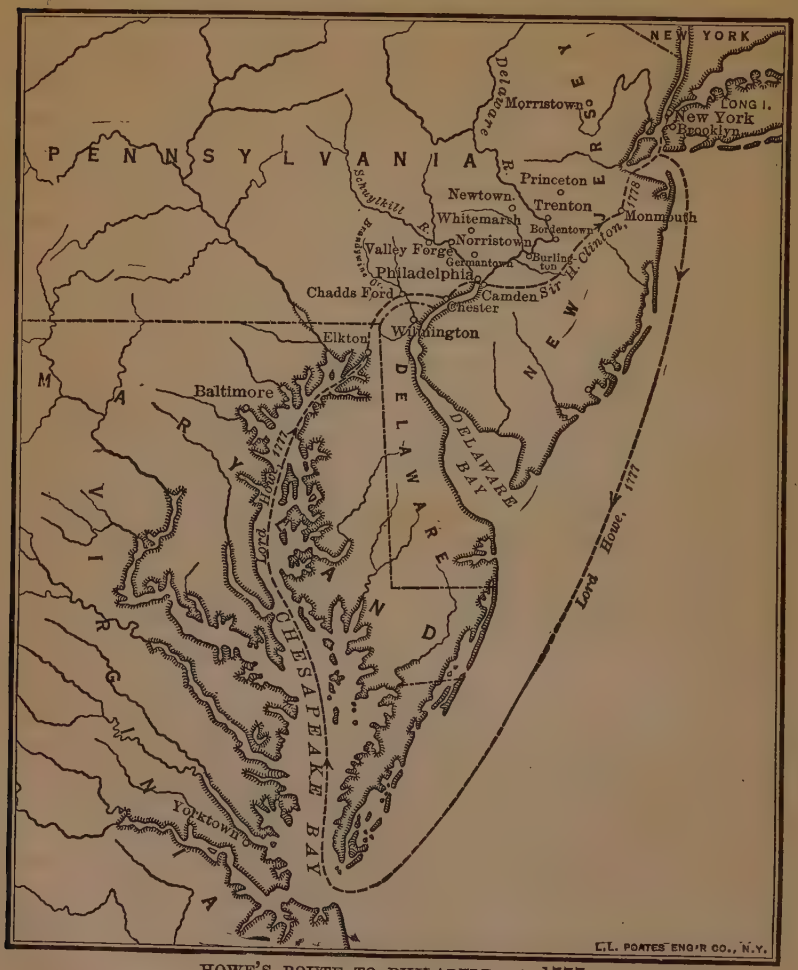
relieve the fort and he sent a half-witted Tory boy with his hat riddled with bullets into St. Leger's camp with the story that Burgoyne was defeated and the Americans were coming. This ruse frightened St. Leger and his allies out of the country and soon the Stars and Stripes floated over Fort Stanwix.[1]

Bennington and Oriskany were stunning blows to Burgoyne. He could not retreat into Canada because the New Hampshire militia hung about his rear; he must either fight or starve.

Surrender of Burgoyne. Just when a complete and brilliant victory was about to crown the efforts of General Schuyler, he was succeeded in command by General Horatio Gates. Schuyler supported New York's claim to the Green Mountain country, and for that reason many New Englanders sought his removal. He bore his humiliation like a true patriot and offered to serve under the new officer. Burgoyne's plight was growing worse day by day. He waited in vain for the army that was to come up the Hudson and join him at Albany, for Howe was then on the banks of the Brandywine moving against Philadelphia. The campaign was being conducted from England and the orders for Howe to go up the Hudson lay forgotten in a pigeon-hole of a desk in the war department in London. Charles Lee, nominally a prisoner in the hands of the English, but really a traitor to the American cause as it was discovered many years afterwards, was urging Howe to take Philadelphia, subdue

[1]The flag which floated over Washington's headquarters at Cambridge was thirteen red and white stripes with the British "Union Jack" on a blue field in the upper left corner. The first American flag was adopted by Congress June 14, 1777; a circle of thirteen white stars on a blue field took the place of the crosses. Betsy Ross of Philadelphia is said to have made this flag. The Betsy Ross house is still standing and is one of the landmarks of the city.

Pennsylvania, and thereby end the war. Burgoyne, in several minor engagements around Saratoga, tried to cut



HOWE'S ROUTE TO PHILADELPHIA 1777

his way through the American lines, but he was foiled every time and usually by the personal daring of Benedict

Arnold. At last, surrounded and hopeless, he surrendered his army to the Americans at Saratoga, October 17, 1777.

Howe's Advance Upon Philadelphia. Washington, at Morristown, anxiously watched Howe with the expectation that he would move up the Hudson to co-operate with Burgoyne but he seemed determined to take the "rebel capital." Prevented by Washington from marching across New Jersey, the British general left a sufficient garrison to defend New York and set sail from Staten Island. Late in August he landed at the head of Chesapeake Bay and began the march to Philadelphia, but Washington had swept through New Jersey and was at Chadd's Ford on Brandywine Creek ready to dispute his advance upon the city. The Americans were greatly outnumbered and were defeated in a battle on September 2, by a flank movement under command of Cornwallis. In spite of this defeat, Washington retreated with such skill before Howe's advancing army that the British were delayed two weeks in marching a distance of twenty-six miles to Philadelphia. Howe took position in Philadelphia, but left the main part of his army camped at Germantown. Here Washington attacked him again on October 4, but lost the battle through an unfortunate accident in his own army. In a dense fog two divisions of the Americans mistook each other for the enemy and the cross fire produced such confusion that the attack failed.

Winter at Valley Forge. Washington moved northward and went into winter quarters at Valley Forge and the march could be traced in the snow by the blood that oozed through the worn shoes of the soldiers. The winter of 1778 was one of untold suffering for the patriot army. They were half fed, half clothed, and many of them without blankets or bedding. Some lost their feet and legs

by freezing and amputation, and others died for lack of straw to protect them from the frozen ground. There were no "summer soldiers and sunshine patriots" here. Washington shared these privations with his men. They were suffering in a land of plenty; but owing to the inefficiency of Congress, the scarcity of money, and the bad character of the roads, Washington could obtain no supplies. At the same time the British army was resting in idleness and luxury in Philadelphia.

WASHINGTON AND LAFAYETTE AT VALLEY FORGE

The Conway Cabal. While Washington was suffering with the soldiers at Valley Forge and holding them together in spite of their great distress, a plot was hatched in Congress by jealous enemies to depose him and put the incompetent Gates in command. This was known as the "Conway Cabal" from the fact that Thomas Conway, an Irish soldier of fortune, was one of the leaders. When this plot was discovered public indignation was so aroused that the

conspiracy was quickly abandoned. Washington conducted himself in this trying affair with a quiet dignity that won the admiration of all the people.

Soldiers of Fortune. Up to this point in the struggle the Americans had fought the war practically unaided, although in 1777 a number of soldiers of fortune from foreign lands entered the American army to serve the cause of liberty. Among these was Marquis de Lafayette, a young Frenchman, who served for four years under Washington and won a warm place in the heart of the great commander and the undying gratitude of the American people. There were many other great men who gave their efforts to the American cause. Among them were Baron De Kalb, a German, who lost his life in the American army; Kosciusko and Pulaski, two Polish officers; and Baron Von Steuben, a Prussian veteran, who trained and drilled Washington's ragged regiments during the terrible winter at Valley Forge.

GENERAL LAFAYETTE

The French Alliance. The year 1777-1778 was the turning point of the American Revolution. From this time forward the war was not confined to Great Britain and her colonies but it widened into a great struggle between Great Britain and her European enemies, although of these only France came in direct contact with the war in America. The Continental Congress in 1776 had sent Benjamin Franklin as agent to France to solicit aid, and

it was a wise choice, for the civilized world recognized the genius of the man who "could snatch the lightning from the skies and the scepter from tyrants." France was willing to help us, not so much because she loved us as because she longed for revenge against Great Britain for the humiliating peace of 1763. At first the help of France was given secretly in the form of shiploads of ammunition and clothing, but after Burgoyne's surrender it appeared as if the American cause would succeed and in 1778 France made a treaty recognizing the independence of the United States, and agreed to send a fleet of sixteen war vessels and an army of 4,000 men to our aid. Both countries agreed to make common cause against Great Britain until American independence was won.

English Efforts at Reconciliation. The news of Burgoyne's defeat was a terrible blow to the British government. Great Whig leaders, although they did not desire the independence of America, nevertheless rejoiced for they realized that the patriot cause was the cause of political liberty in England. In 1778 Lord North made overtures for peace. All the measures that had aroused such bitter opposition in America were repealed and England promised that the colonies should be free from taxation. When the news of the French alliance came all England urged the King to make Pitt (now Earl of Chatham) prime minister. Americans and Englishmen alike loved him and he, who had done most to make the Empire, might even in this crisis be able to save it. But the King refused. No advantage to the country, no danger to himself, he said could ever induce him to treat with "Lord Chatham and his crew." But it was too late; the only terms on which the Americans would treat was the recognition of their independence and England was

not ready to make that concession. Great Britain soon declared war on France; in 1779 Spain joined France in her war on England, and in 1780 Holland also entered the lists against Great Britain.

British Evacuate Philadelphia. After receiving the news of the French Alliance Sir Henry Clinton, who had succeeded Howe, decided to evacuate Philadelphia and concentrate his whole army at New York before the French fleet and army could arrive. Hardly were the British out of the capital city before the Americans occupied it. Leaving Arnold there in command, Washington hurried after Clinton, determined to strike before he reached New York. He overtook the British at Monmouth Courthouse in New Jersey and in all probability would have won a victory with his well-drilled army, but for the dastardly disobedience of Charles Lee who had recently been exchanged. Contrary to Washington's commands, Lee retreated with his division at a critical moment. The commander-in-chief perceived the act and, ordering Lee to the rear, he led the division into the fight, but it was too late to overcome the disadvantage. Lee was suspended from his command for a year and later Congress expelled him from the army. Monmouth was the last general engagement on northern soil during the war.

Clinton reached New York in safety and Washington moved up the Hudson to White Plains. Here the two armies remained watching each other for three years while the chief action of the war was transferred to the south. As a result of the three years' warfare, the British held only two cities, New York and Newport.

Minor Engagements. Indian Raids. Clinton sent out several detachment of Tories to burn and plunder defenseless villages along the Connecticut coast and in New Jersey.

In May, 1779, he captured Stony Point on the Hudson just south of West Point which the Americans had strongly fortified to guard the upper Hudson. Washington retaliated by sending General Anthony Wayne, who won the name of "Mad" Anthony Wayne on account of his rash bravery, to storm the British works at Stony Point. General Wayne crept silently on the place on the night of July 15, 1779, not a gun was loaded so there might be no possible betrayal from a random shot, and, as a further precaution, every dog for miles around had been killed. At the opportune moment, the Americans rushed upon the sleeping garrison and after a fierce encounter the British surrendered. Major Henry Lee, known as "Light Horse Harry," made a daring attack on Paulus Hook, a fort on the present site of Jersey City, and captured 159 prisoners, losing of his own men only two killed and three wounded. Less than a week after the battle of Monmouth, joint forces of Indians and Tories raided the beautiful Wyoming Valley in northern Pennsylvania, and death and ruin reigned where there had been happy homes, waving fields of grain, and cattle grazing on the hillsides. In

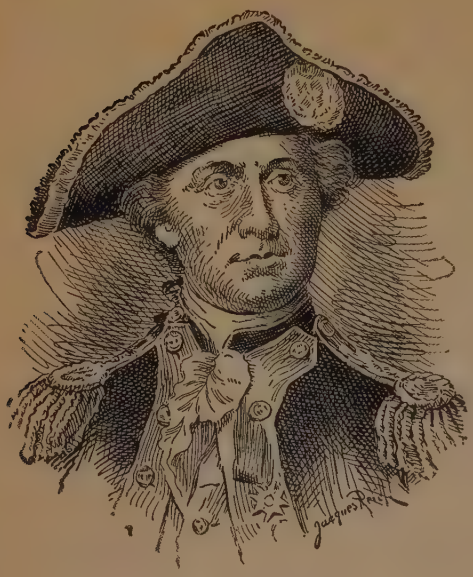
ANTHONY WAYNE

Cherry Valley, New York, the outrage was repeated. Washington, exasperated at these cruel raids, sent General Sullivan into the Indian country with 5,000 men. He defeated the Tories and their savage allies and the northern settlers were comparatively safe during the remainder of the war.

Clark's Conquest of the Northwest. The territory north of the Ohio had been annexed to the province of Quebec and a few English soldiers were stationed at the old French forts. Colonel Henry Hamilton, the British commander at Detroit, early in 1777 incited the Indians in this region to raid after raid on the settlements in Kentucky and Tennessee. George Rogers Clark, a Virginian and one of the early settlers of Kentucky, conceived the plan of defending the frontier by carrying the war into the enemy's country. With a commission from Governor Patrick Henry of Virginia and accompanied by 180 picked riflemen, he floated down the Ohio from Pittsburg to the mouth. Then marching across the prairies and swamps and fording smaller streams, he surprised and captured the British garrison at Kaskaskia. Hamilton with a large force of Indians moved to Vincennes and planned to retake Kaskaskia in the spring. Clark did not wait for him. In February 1779 he set out for Vincennes, 230 miles distant, going across flooded land where his men often had to wade neck-deep. He forced Hamilton to surrender and British authority in the Ohio country was forever at an end. The territory was annexed to Virginia as the county of Illinois.

ROUTE OF CLARK

John Paul Jones. The year 1779, which marked Clark's daring expedition into Illinois, was also famous for a great victory on the sea. Congress had equipped a navy of thirteen frigates in 1775, but by 1778 nine of them were in the hands of the British, and during the early years of the war, it was mainly privateers that upheld the American cause upon the sea. After the French Alliance in 1778, France furnished us with many fighting ships. In the summer of 1779 John Paul Jones, a Scotch sailor living in Virginia and an officer in the United States navy, with French aid fitted out a little squadron of five vessels whose flagship was the *Poor Richard,* so named in honor of Franklin, from the title of his famous almanac. Jones cruised around in English waters and struck terror to the villages along the coast. On September 23, he met two British men-of-war escorting a fleet of merchant vessels. After an hour's desperate fighting the *Poor Richard* ran into the *Serapis,* the enemy's flagship, and for a few moments ceased her firing whereupon Captain Pearsons of the *Serapis* called out, "Have you struck your colors?" "I have not yet begun to fight," was Jones's quick answer,



JOHN PAUL JONES

and the battle raged more intensely. The *Serapis* was compelled to surrender but both ships were nearly destroyed. The *Poor Richard* sank the next morning. England, the proud mistress of the seas, had met defeat; John Paul Jones was the hero of Europe as well as America.

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

1. What events changed people's minds toward independence from the spring of 1775 to July 1776?
2. What two colonies took the lead in opposition to England?
3. In what section were the most Tories?
4. In what sense was the Revolution a civil war?
5. What do you think of Washington's treatment of Lee?
6. How did Franklin serve the American cause before and during the war?
7. What was the turning point of the war?
8. In what respect was Schuyler due the credit for Gates' victory at Saratoga?
9. Why did Spain enter the war?
10. By what right did Virginia claim the Northwest Territory?

CHAPTER X

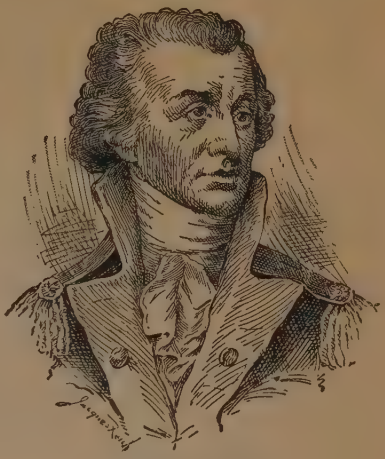
THE WAR IN THE SOUTH

Fall of Savannah and Charleston. The South, which had been free from attack since Moultrie's gallant defense of Charleston, became the scene of almost constant fighting from 1778 until the close of the war. Savannah was taken in 1778 by Colonel Campbell with a British fleet from New York, and soon all Georgia was under royal rule again. General Lincoln, in command in the South, tried to regain this territory but was defeated at Brier Creek near Augusta and repulsed at Savannah, though aided here by a French fleet. Late in December, 1779, Clinton, leaving a force at New York, sailed southward to capture Charleston. With an army of about 10,000, he approached the city by land from Savannah and the fleet forced its way through the harbor. After a vigorous defense General Lincoln was obliged to surrender the city, May 12, 1780, together with his army of 7,000. The whole of South Carolina was overrun by the British. England looked upon the war as practically ended and believed that America was overwhelmed at last.

Marion and Sumter. But the patriots did not give up the fight. Francis Marion, the "Swamp Fox"; Thomas Sumter, the "South Carolina Game Cock," and Andrew Pickens, with small bands would creep tiger-like from the woods and swamps and mountain valleys, strike a deadly blow at the British and their loyalist allies, and then disappear as suddenly as they had come. When there were neither continental officers nor troops in South Carolina, these men kept alive the patriot cause.

Battle of Camden. Congress now sent the incompetent Gates to take command in the South. Here he had no

FRANCIS MARION



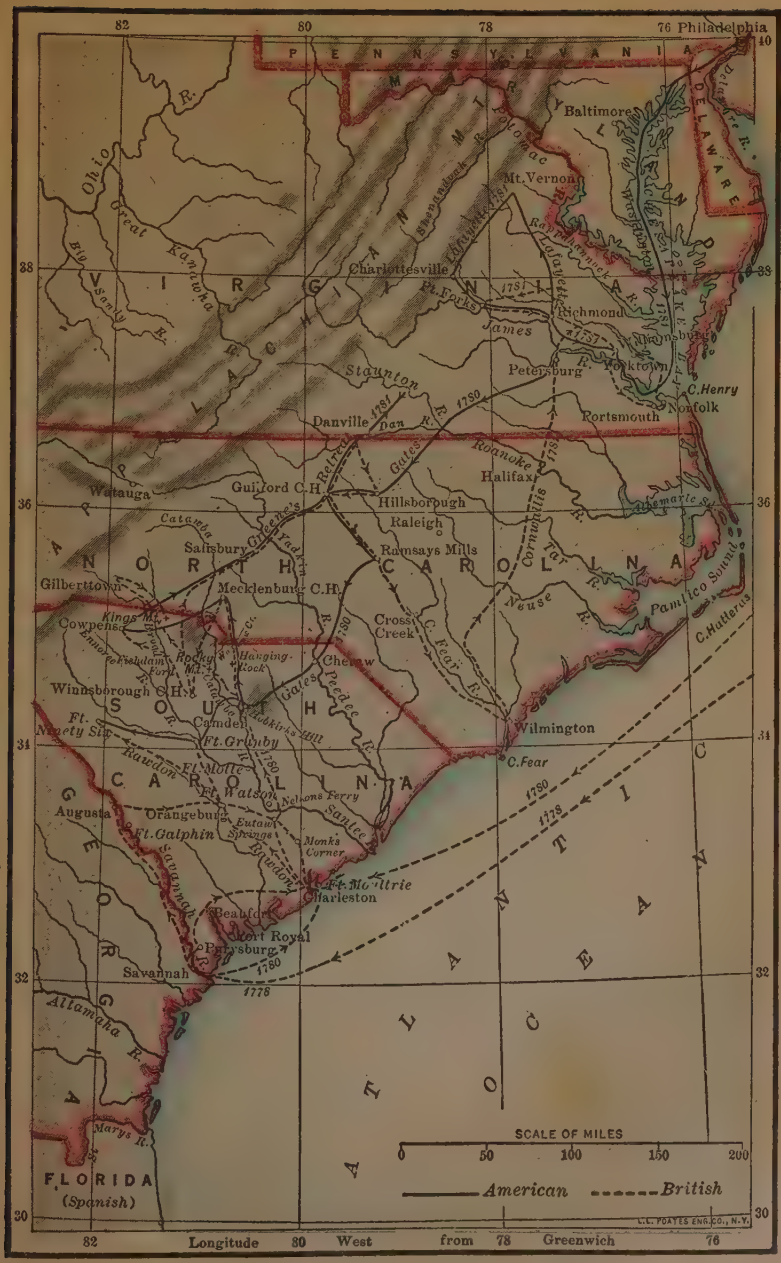
THOMAS SUMTER

Schuyler to plan a campaign, as he had at Saratoga, and his Carolina movement was an inglorious failure. He planned an attack on Camden, an important place in South Carolina, where a number of roads converge. Here a strange thing happened; Gates decided to march through a wood by night and surprise the enemy at daybreak, and Cornwallis at the same hour started through the same stretch of woods for the same purpose. The two forces met about halfway in the woods and each fell back in surprise. In the early morning the fighting began and the Americans were disastrously defeated. The brave Baron De Kalb was killed and Gates fled from the field in a mad gallop and by night he was sixty miles away.

Treason of Arnold. The year of 1780 was for the Americans the gloomiest of the war. Two armies had been lost in the South, and the month after the battle of Camden,

the country was shocked by the treason of Arnold. When Washington left Philadelphia, in 1778, to follow Clinton across New Jersey, Benedict Arnold, who had not yet entirely recovered from a wound he had received at Saratoga, was left in command. For his distinguished services to the country, Arnold had not yet received the promotion that he and others thought was his due. In Philadelphia, his extravagant living and his association with the Tories aroused the suspicions of Congress and there was an investigation of his conduct. He was found guilty of nothing more than imprudence and he was sentenced to receive a public reprimand from the commander-in-chief. Washington out of love for the man and admiration for the brilliant, dashing soldier, administered the reprimand in such a manner that it amounted to a eulogy. In 1780 at his own request, Washington placed him in command of the strong fortress, West Point, which was the key to the upper Hudson.

Stung to the quick by the humiliation he had suffered at the hands of Congress, Arnold in a weak moment planned to hand over this fortress to the enemy, and in turn he was to receive an office in the British Army and $30,000 in money. To obtain all the details of the surrender of the fort, Clinton sent Major John André up the Hudson to confer with Arnold. The two met at midnight on the river bank in a thicket four miles below West Point. The sloop of war which was waiting for André was fired upon by Americans and compelled to retire down the river. He was thus forced to make his way back to the English lines by land. At Tarrytown he was captured, and the treasonable papers were discovered between his stockings and the soles of his feet. He was tried by courtmartial and hanged as a spy.



REVOLUTIONARY WAR—CAMPAIGNS IN THE SOUTH

Arnold made his escape to the British lines where he received his reward in spite of the fact that the conspiracy had failed. When this news reached Washington he cried in anguish, "Arnold is a traitor and has fled to the British. Whom can we trust now?" Never again could he hear without a shudder the name of the man whom he had loved and trusted. After the close of the war, Arnold

BATTLE OF KING'S MOUNTAIN

lived in England. Just before he died, it is said that he called for the old American uniform in which he made his escape from West Point. Putting it on, he said, "Let me die in this old uniform in which I fought my battles. May God forgive me for ever putting on any other."

Battle of King's Mountain. After the rout of Gates' army at Camden, Cornwallis invaded North Carolina. He sent Major Patrick Ferguson with 1,200 men into the upper country to enlist the Tories of South Carolina. But soon Ferguson was surrounded by plucky backwoodsmen who poured forth from hill and valley a thousand strong. Frontiersmen from Virginia, Carolinians, and Georgians and Tennesseans from the new settlement beyond the mountains made up the army. Ferguson tried to escape and join Cornwallis, but failing, he took a strong position at King's Mountain. The backwoodsmen climbed the hillsides, and from behind rocks and trees, with deadly aim, they picked off the enemy one by one like shooting squirrels. The brave Ferguson was killed, hundreds of his soldiers were lying dead and wounded and the little remnant of the British force surrendered. The mountaineers soon scattered, and went back to their homes. This victory put new hope into the patriot cause.

Greene in the Carolinas. A third American army was now raised in the South and put under the command of General Nathaniel Greene. With him were Daniel Morgan with his Virginia riflemen, Light Horse Harry Lee and Colonel William Washington, both cavalry leaders. Morgan was sent into western South Carolina to worry Cornwallis, and to gather recruits. Tarleton, a British cavalry leader, followed him and the two armies met at the Cowpens, grazing grounds near Spartanburg, South Carolina, where Tarleton was badly whipped. Morgan rejoined Greene after this battle, and together they led Cornwallis a chase far into North Carolina. Greene turned back after being re-enforced and attacked the British at Guilford Court House. The Americans were defeated, but the army of Cornwallis was so reduced that he had to hurry with

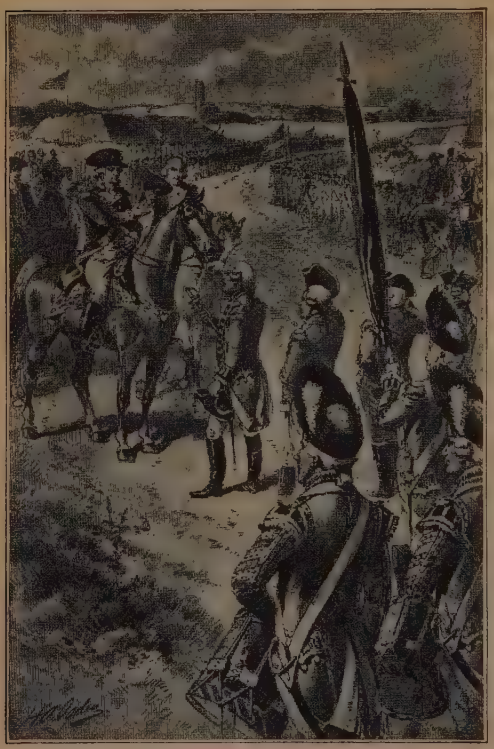
his worn-out and almost famished men to Wilmington to obtain aid from the British fleet lying there.

Greene followed Cornwallis a while and then turned into South Carolina to clear that state, and then Georgia of British troops. He was defeated at Hobkirk's Hill, but the British were forced to retreat. At Eutaw Springs Greene again attacked the British, and they again claimed the victory, but were obliged to take refuge behind the defences at Charleston. Only that city and Savannah remained in the hands of the enemy.

Campaign in Virginia. Cornwallis now moved northward into Virginia in the hope of capturing that state, and thus breaking the backbone of the rebellion. Early in 1781, a small British force, under Generals Phillips and Arnold moved up the James as far as Richmond, destroying as they went. Washington sent Lafayette with a small army to capture Arnold. Cornwallis effected a junction with Arnold and with 5,000 men undertook to crush Lafayette who retreated northward. But re-enforced by Wayne and Steuben the tables were turned and he began to advance. Cornwallis dropped back to the coast and fortified himself at Yorktown, while Lafayette took position at Malvern Hill.

Surrender of Cornwallis. Washington decided the time had come to strike a telling blow. Leaving a small force to guard the Hudson and deceiving Clinton by pretending to make an attack on Staten Island, with an army of 6,000, he rushed southward to join Lafayette. The French fleet, meanwhile under Count de Grasse, guarded Chesapeake Bay. So successfully had Washington executed his plans that almost before Cornwallis could realize his danger he was shut up in Yorktown by the American army which numbered about 16,000. After a siege of

three weeks a white flag was hoisted above the British parapets, and on October 19, Cornwallis surrendered his army of 7,000 men as the band played "The world turned upside down." The war was over. The triumph of the American cause was chiefly due to the personal leadership, the faithful service, and unselfish patriotism of George Washington.



SURRENDER AT YORKTOWN

Peace of Paris—1783. The peace was made at Paris. Congress appointed Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and John Adams peace commissioners with instructions to act in all things with the "knowledge and concurrence" of the French. Controversies over boundaries and other questions prolonged the negotiations many months. The American Commissioners believed that France favored the Alleghenies as the western boundary of the new nation, the territory south of the Ohio to go to her ally, Spain, and that north of the Ohio to be retained by England. They were determined on the Mississippi as the western boundary, so they broke their instruc-

tions and acted independently of France. In September, 1783, the following terms were agreed upon:

1. His Britannic majesty acknowledged the said United States, to-wit: New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia to be FREE, SOVEREIGN, and INDEPENDENT STATES. The boundaries of these states on the west extended to the Mississippi River.

2. The Americans gained the right to fish off the Grand Banks of Newfoundland.

3. Congress was to advise the states to treat the loyalists kindly.

4. Florida, which then included parts of Alabama and Mississippi, was restored to Spain.

On November 25, 1783, the British sailed away from New York; English dominion in the United States was at an end.

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

1. What was the British plan with regard to the South?
2. Of what class of people were the Americans at King's Mountain?
3. Compare Greene with Washington.
4. What do you think of Washington's treatment of Arnold?
5. Greene usually lost his battles but won his campaigns. Explain this.
6. At what time during the struggle was French aid of greatest value to the Americans?

SUGGESTED READINGS

Hart, *Formation of the Union*
Hinsdale, *Old North West*
Cooke, *Virginia*
Ford, *The True Benjamin Franklin*
Fiske, *The American Revolution*
Scudder, *Washington*
Eggleston, *American War Ballads*
Longfellow, *Paul Revere's Ride*
Cooper, *Last of the Mohicans* and *The Spy*
Franklin, *Autobiography*
Abbott, *Blue Jacket of '76*
Brady, *Commodore Paul Jones* and *For Love of Country*
Churchill, *Richard Carvel*
Lowell, *Washington From Under the Old Elm*
Holmes, *Independence Bell*
Whittier, *Yorktown*
Hart, *Source Readers*
Ford, *The True George Washington*
Van Tyne, *American Revolution.*

PART II

THE UNITED STATES UNDER THE CONSTITUTION

PERIOD IV.—GENERATION OF REVOLUTIONARY FATHERS

1783-1829

CHAPTER XI

THE CRITICAL PERIOD

Articles of Confederation. While the War for Independence was in progress, the states, under a sense of common danger, banded themselves together into a loose union or confederacy. In 1776, on the same day that the committee was appointed to draft the Declaration of Independence another committee was organized to draw up a plan of union for the states. This committee prepared the "Articles of Confederation," which were adopted by Congress in the fall of 1777, subject to the ratification of all the states. Three years and a half elapsed before the articles were ratified. The states, meanwhile having cast off their allegiance to England, set up their own state governments and each assumed complete sovereignty within itself.

Cession of the Western Lands. The delay in the ratification of the articles was due to a prolonged dispute over the ownership of the western lands. Seven of the states, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia claimed the region lying between the mountains and the Mississippi. They based

their claims on their old charters, or on Indian cessions, or on actual right of conquest. The six landless states, with Maryland as their leader, fearing the power of the larger states, refused to ratify the Articles unless the western lands were surrendered to the Confederation for the common benefit of all. New York renounced her claim in 1781, and in the same year Virginia agreed to surrender all lands north of the Ohio, but retained possession of Kentucky to which she had already promised separate statehood. Maryland accepted these acts as a pledge that the other states would do likewise and ratified the Articles and they went into effect March 1, 1781. North Carolina ceded her western lands in 1784, and the people of the settlements beyond the mountains formed an independent state known as "Franklin," and with John Sevier as governor, petitioned Congress for admission to the Confederation. But North Carolina recalled her cession and claimed jurisdiction over all the region until 1790. One by one the other states surrendered their lands. Georgia in 1802 was the last, and then her cession was on condition that the Indians be removed from the borders of the state.

Government Under the Confederation. The Confederation was nothing more than a league of sovereign states, each jealous of the other and suspicious of the power of any government outside its own boundaries. The Articles provided for no executive except a few committees to act while Congress was not in session, and no judicial department except a court whose chief duty was to settle quarrels between the states concerning the ownership of prizes taken at sea. Congress consisted of one house in which each state had one vote. This body could advise and recommend, but it could not raise a dollar of revenue to pay the

soldiers or the interest on the public debt or its own current expenses. In the matter of commercial regulations and of relations with other nations, it was without authority and any treaty or any provision affecting interstate commerce was subject to thirteen possible vetoes. Having no means of support the government could borrow no money, and it was without respect at home or abroad. The states had suffered too severely under arbitrary government during the years of English possession to set up or accept a "King Congress" to take the place of King George.

Trouble With the Soldiers. The Confederation was hardly organized before it confronted a mutinous army. The soldiers felt that they were ill treated because their pay was years in arrears and in many instances their families were in actual need. But Congress had no money and no way of raising money. Some of the leaders of the army, disgusted with the inefficiency of Congress, entertained the idea of making Washington king, but he spurned the suggestion and rebuked it in the severest terms. In 1783 the Pennsylvania troops actually revolted and drove the Congress from Philadelphia. After this event that body met in New York. About the same time the discontent and distrust were increased by the Newburgh addresses, published anonymously while the main army was encamped at Newburgh on the Hudson, urging the soldiers to stand together until their grievances were redressed. Fortunately Washington's great influence served to restrain the complaining soldiers and he succeeded in securing for them promise of full pay for five years and liberal bounties in lands. The army was disbanded in June, 1783.

Foreign Relations. One of the chief grievances of the colonies was that their trade with the British West Indies was restricted to the British islands. After independence

was gained we desired to continue this trade, but England cut us off from trading with those islands and taxed American goods heavily at her ports. Congress could not retaliate because not all the states were agreed on any measure of redress. England refused to make any treaty with us because she did not know whether she was dealing with one government or with thirteen. Another nation with which the colonies desired to make favorable commercial arrangements was Spain. That country agreed to open to our ships a profitable trade with the Spanish West Indies, provided the states would not demand free navigation on the lower Mississippi. England had secured this right from Spain at the Peace of Paris in 1763 and had transferred it to us in the Peace of 1783, but Spain denied her right to make the transfer. The northern states were in favor of the proposal because navigation of the lower Mississippi was of no value to them and trade with the Spanish West Indies was. But instantly the south and west were aroused. Kentucky and Tennessee had been filling up rapidly with settlers and now these westerners boldly threatened to secede from the Confederation if the mouth of the Mississippi was to be closed. In the face of this vehement protest no treaty was made. Our foreign relations continued in this condition until after Congress was organized under the new Constitution.

Interstate Troubles. Congress had no power to regulate interstate trade and each state passed tariff laws in its own interest without regard to the convenience or welfare of any other state. New York, in the interest of her farmers, laid taxes on chickens and garden products from New Jersey; New Jersey retaliated by taxing New York on a lighthouse on her coast to the amount of $1,800 a year. New York taxed all the firewood coming from Con-

necticut and the merchants of that state responded with a boycott on New York. North Carolina found herself between the upper and the nether millstone, as it were, having no good ports of her own and having to ship her products at a high rate either through Virginia or South Carolina ports. These constant conflicts were almost fatal to the sentiment for union that had existed.

Shays' Rebellion. The Confederation and the several states were heavily burdened with debt. All the "hard money" was sent out of the country for the purchase of goods from abroad and there was a constant cry for paper money which the people seemed to think would be a cure for their ills. But paper money was only a promise to pay, and it was worth little in the absence of anything substantial in the possession of the government with which it could be redeemed. Nearly all the states issued paper money and the few that refused to yield to the public demand in this respect paid dearly for their denial. In Massachusetts in the winter of 1786-1787 there was open rebellion led by Captain Daniel Shays, a revolutionary soldier. Two thousand angry debtor farmers surrounded the court house and put a stop to the proceedings of the court in order to prevent the termination of law suits against the debtors. The rebels gained possession of several towns in the western part of the state and plundered and burned as they went. Finally they were dispersed by the state militia under General Lincoln.

Ordinance of 1787. The common ownership of the western lands was a strong bond of union among the states. These lands were to be opened to settlement, sold, and the proceeds used in paying off the general debt. Just a few months after the collapse of Shays' Rebellion the Congress of the Confederation passed the Northwest Ordinance of

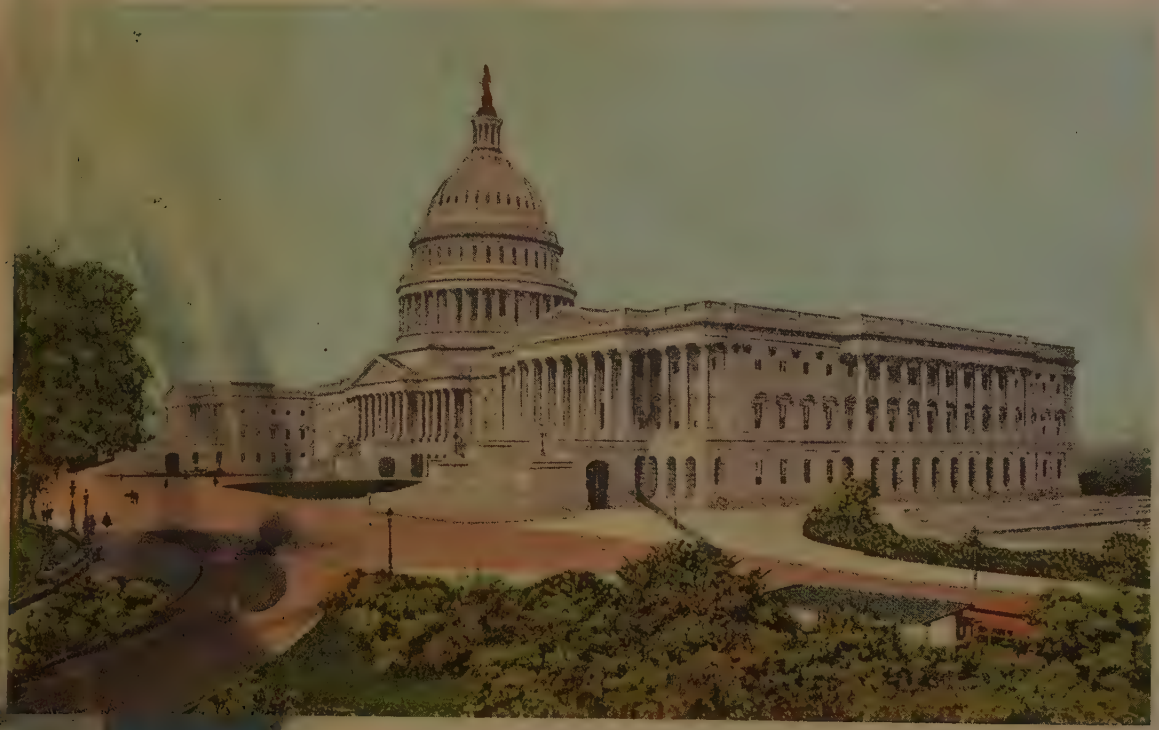
1787, which became the model for the administration of subsequent territories acquired by the United States. In this ordinance provision was made for the temporary management of the land north of the Ohio and for its division into not less than three nor more than five states; statehood was to be granted to a territory as soon as it contained 60,000 inhabitants. Personal and religious liberty were guaranteed to the settlers, means of education were to be provided, and slavery was to be excluded forever from the section north of the Ohio. The anti-slavery provision of the ordinance was similar to one suggested in 1784 by Thomas Jefferson who was one of the world's greatest advocates of universal freedom. Later the territory south of the Ohio was organized with no restrictions as to slavery.

The Constitution. The weakness of the Articles was evident from the beginning, and some efforts had been made at amendment, but no amendment was effective without the approval of all thirteen states and this could never be obtained. The times were critical; either Congress must have more power or the union of the states would cease to exist, and with disunion there was danger of foreign interference. In 1786 the Virginia legislature invited delegates from all the states to meet at Annapolis to consider the question of interstate trade. Delegates from only five states attended and the meeting adjourned without considering the question, but recommended to Congress that a convention of all the states be held in May, 1787, in Philadelphia for the purpose of amending the Articles.

At last fifty-five delegates assembled representing all the states except Rhode Island. In the same hall where the colonies had declared their independence the Federal

Convention was organized on May 25, and sat in secret session for four months. Washington was unanimously elected president of the convention; the aged Franklin, one of the delegates from Pennsylvania, contributed his ripe wisdom to the great cause; and the young James Madison of Virginia, who was perhaps the best informed man in the convention, contributed in such large part to the chief features of the fundamental law that he has been called the "Father of the Constitution." There were many other great men of the country in the convention and they soon realized the impossibility of developing a satisfactory plan of government upon the basis of the Articles of Confederation, consequently they set themselves to the task of constructing an entirely new plan of union.

The Great Compromise. So different were the interests of the states and sections that *three* great compromises were necessary before the Constitution took final form. The first was the question of relative representation as between the large and the small states. Virginia proposed that the states be represented according to population in a Congress of two houses, but the smaller states resisted this proposal, as it would give control to the larger states, so they contended for a Congress of one house which would give equal representation of the states without regard to population. The controversy was settled by a compromise, which gave equal representation to all the states in the Senate, or upper house of Congress, and representation in proportion to population in the House of Representatives, or the lower branch of Congress. The senators, two from each state, were to be selected by the state legislature, and the representatives in the lower house were to be elected by the people of the state, one for not fewer than every 30,000 population.



NATIONAL CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D. C.

The second compromise was between the North and the South on the matter of representation as it related to slavery. The point of controversy was on the question of counting the negroes in the census to be used as a basis of representation in the lower house of Congress. There were but few slaves in the North and the delegates from that section were strongly opposed to counting them; the Southern delegates, on the other hand, were in favor of counting the negroes as population. Another point of controversy was the apportionment of direct taxes to the population. Here the North was in favor of counting the negroes and the South opposed. A prolonged deadlock was finally broken by Madison's suggestion that three-fifths of the negroes be counted in both cases and this suggestion was adopted. The third compromise consisted of differences between agricultural and commercial interests. The New England states wished Congress to have full control of commerce; the South objected to this plan lest export duties be laid on her agricultural products. It was finally agreed to give Congress control over commerce with the right to levy taxes on imports, but not on exports. In connection with the problem of commerce arose the question of the African slave trade which many of the states wished to have abolished. South Carolina and Georgia objected to its immediate cessation, because they had lost many of their slaves during the war and they were in need of laborers for their plantations. Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut also objected because they had been engaged in the traffic for many years and many of the merchants wished time in which to find other employment for their ships. It was finally agreed that the foreign slave trade should not be prohibited before 1808. This was a deal between the

buyers and sellers of slaves. A fugitive slave law was incorporated in the Constitution.[1] At last the finished Constitution was adopted by Congress and submitted to the states for their acceptance or rejection.

The New Government. The new Constitution differed from the Articles of Confederation in that it provided for a government of three separate and co-ordinate departments. There was to be an executive, the President and Vice President chosen by Presidential electors, who were elected by the people, each state being entitled to as many electors as she had members in Congress, including her two senators. The President's term of office was to be four years. There was to be a Legislative Department, consisting of a Congress composed of two houses, the Senate, and the House of Representatives. The senators were elected for six years and the representatives for two years. There was to be a Judicial Department, consisting of the Supreme Court and such inferior courts as Congress should create. The judges were to be appointed by the President, and to hold office for life. The President was authorized to veto the acts of Congress by way of restraining rash action, though it was provided that laws could be passed over his veto by a two-thirds vote. Congress was given many powers, chief among them being the control of commerce, the power to levy taxes for the support of the government, and the power to make all laws necessary to put its powers into effect.

Ratification of the Constitution. The Constitution provided that it should go into effect when ratified by nine of the states, and this was a matter of grave doubt for a

[1]Virginia was the first state of the North or South to prohibit the slave trade in her constitution. The Articles of Confederation had contained no provision for the return of runaway slaves, but the New England Confederation many years before had contained such a provision.

long time. To these American forefathers of ours, local self-government and personal independence were dearer than united strength. Two well-defined political parties were formed as a consequence of the differing opinions on this question, to wit: the Federalists, who favored the adoption of the Constitution, and the Anti-Federalists, who were opposed to it. In Virginia the Anti-Federalists were led by the brilliant Revolutionary orator, Patrick Henry, and in Massachusetts, Samuel Adams led the opposition to the new plan. These men and many others thought that the states were delegating too much of their power to the central government and feared that in time this power might be exercised to the injury of the states. The Federalists under the leadership of such men as Washington, Madison, and Alexander Hamilton, favored the adoption of the Constitution, because they believed that it was the best plan obtainable at the time, and that unless it was accepted disunion and anarchy would ensue. Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay wrote a number of papers under assumed names, explaining the nature of the new Constitution and urging its acceptance. These papers are known as the *Federalist Papers*. The

ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Federalist view prevailed, and by 1788 all the states except two, North Carolina and Rhode Island, had ratified the Constitution. Massachusetts and several others ratified it with the understanding that it should be so amended as to safeguard the rights of the states. Virginia and New York ratified it on condition that the powers they surrendered could be resumed if it became necessary to do so for their own welfare. Control of commerce and the power of taxation were too dear and too vital to be surrendered unconditionally. North Carolina ratified the Constitution in 1789, and in 1790 Rhode Island ratified it and entered the union.

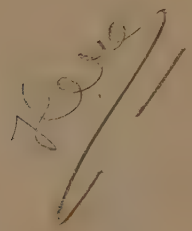
The Kind of Union. Just what kind of union these states formed is a question on which many of the wisest men of America have honestly differed. Some of them hold that it has always been an "indissoluble union"; in the view of others the union was an agreement or compact entered into by the states which reserved the right to secede if their interests so advised. These facts may be remembered in this connection: The latter view was entertained by all of the states when they entered the union, or in all probability there never would have been so many as nine states to ratify the Constitution. Before 1830 this view was not seriously challenged by any great leader or thinker of the country, and it was cherished as a principle in every part of the country. In the South this right was exercised in 1861, when the southern states withdrew from the union and the War Between the States was precipitated.

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

1. What, if anything, did the various states get in return for the cessions of western lands?

2. What state set the example in the cession of the land?

3. How were the Articles of Confederation adopted?
4. Why did the states vest so little power in Congress under the Articles of Confederation?
5. In the eyes of Europe, what was our standing during this period?
6. What was the original purpose of the Convention of 1787?
7. Why were the sessions in secret?
8. What were the three great compromises about?
9. What was at the bottom of the compromise?
10. What is the difference between direct and indirect taxes?

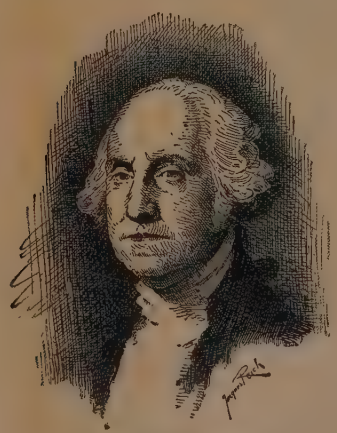


CHAPTER XII

TWELVE YEARS OF FEDERALIST SUPREMACY

GEORGE WASHINGTON, President, 1789-1797.
JOHN ADAMS, Vice President, 1789-1797.
JOHN ADAMS, President, 1797-1801.
THOMAS JEFFERSON, Vice President, 1797-1801.

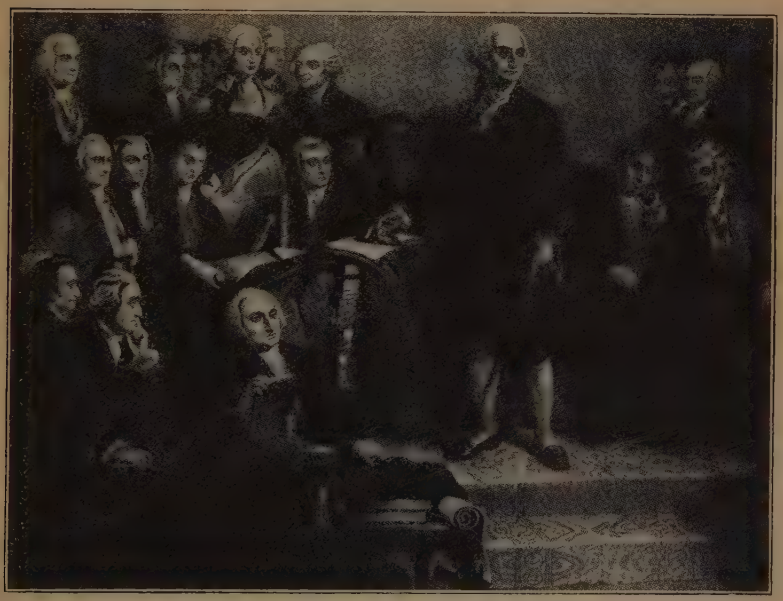
Inauguration of the New Government. The old Congress under the Confederation directed the states to choose their presidential electors on the first Wednesday in January, 1789, the electors to choose the President on the first Wednesday in February and the President to be inaugurated on the first Wednesday in March, which in that year fell upon the fourth day of the month. Then the old government under the Confederation gave place to the new government under the Constitution. All eyes turned to Washington[1] for the first President of the Republic; his name gave to the new government strength at home and dignity abroad. His



GEORGE WASHINGTON

[1]Washington was born in 1732. From the time he was twenty-one years of age, practically until his death, he was closely associated with the history of the country. His ambition had been to hold a commission in the British army, but when the break with the mother country came, he stood by his native Virginia. Washington was tall and muscular; he was an excellent marksman, a fine swordsman and horseman. He was a man of great personal courage, and he possessed a rugged honesty and devoted unselfishness which endeared him to all men. While riding about his plantation he was caught in a rain and hail storm, and took a cold, which resulted in his death on December 14, 1799.

election was unanimous. For Vice President there was a number of candidates but a New England man was preferred in order that sectional jealousy might not crop out in the beginning, and John Adams of Massachusetts was chosen for the place. New York, the capital at that time, made extensive preparations to receive the new officials, but the fourth of March came and went without a Con-



WASHINGTON TAKING THE OATH OF OFFICE

gress and without a President or a Vice President. On account of the unseasonable weather and the bad roads, it was April before Congress could assemble. Washington was escorted from his home at Mount Vernon in Virginia by a guard of honor. Women and children strewed flowers in his road and everywhere the people gathered to pay their respects to the great general who was now their first

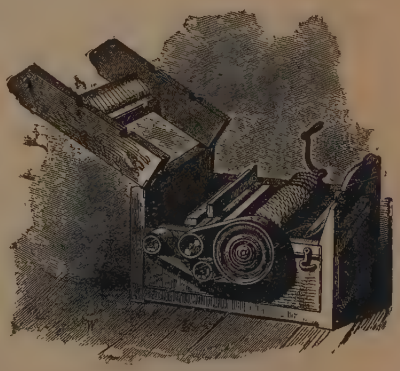
President. On April 30, on the balcony of Federal Hall in Wall Street, New York, in the presence of a vast throng of people, Washington took the oath of office. He was clad in a suit of deep brown with white stockings, after the fashion of his day, and carried a sword at his side. He was visibly agitated and felt deeply the new responsibilities that rested upon him. After the oath of office was administered, a great shout went up, "Long live George Washington, President of the United States."

Formality of the Time. The scene was characteristic of the times. Formality and ceremony were observed then to a much greater extent than now, and Washington himself was inclined to a strict observance of the conventionalities of the time. He was a man of dignified bearing and commanding figure and on state occasions rode in a coach and six, and even when walking he was attended by a servant in livery. Formal receptions were frequently held at the President's mansion and here, in courtly fashion, Washington received his friends. He gave dinners to which the chief officials of the government, distinguished foreigners, and the members of Congress were invited. A senator from Pennsylvania tells us that at one of these dinners for dessert there were apple-pies and puddings, ice-cream, jellies, watermelons, muskmelons, apples, peaches and nuts.

Condition of the Country. The masses of the people over whom Washington was called to preside differed very little from the colonists of a quarter century before, though the population had greatly increased. The first census taken in 1790 showed upwards of four million people, about one-fifth of whom were negro slaves. This population was densest along the seaboard, but the movement that set in after the French were driven from the Ohio valley now

formed a constant stream westward over the Alleghenies. Pack horses followed the lonely trails, and flat boats and rafts carried new settlers into the West. Soon many little log-cabin towns sprang up along the river banks and before the close of Washington's second administration two new states were formed out of the western country, Kentucky in 1792 and Tennessee in 1796. From the east in 1791 came Vermont out of the Green Mountain region, over which New York and New Hampshire had quarreled for many years. New states were to enjoy the same rights and privileges as the original thirteen.

Cities and Industries. There were only five places in the United States, New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, and Charleston, that might be called cities and not one of these had a population of 50,000. The new republic was a land of farmers. In New England the forests still yielded staves, masts, and boards for export, and fishing was an important industry. Ship-building was the only manufacturing industry well developed, but in 1793 a succesful cotton factory was set up at Pawtucket, Rhode Island, using a machine similar to those made in England. Samuel Slater, an English mechanic, reproduced the machine from memory. In the South, tobacco, rice, and indigo were raised with great profit; naval stores and pork were the chief products of North Carolina; and cotton cultivation, to which the vast alluvial plains of the far



EARLY COTTON GIN

South were peculiarly adapted, was beginning to be important. The cotton industry was greatly hindered by the expense of removing the lint from the seed by hand, but in 1793 Eli Whitney, a New England school teacher residing in Georgia, invented the cotton gin. This machine at once made cotton-growing the greatest industry of the South; it had a capacity of 1,000 pounds of lint a day, whereas one person could pick by hand only five or six pounds a day at the most. Cotton production rose from a few hundred bales to hundreds of thousands of bales annually. From this time forward, cotton became "King" in the South and this region took its place as a competitor with India and Egypt in supplying the world with this staple.

New Government. The first duty of the new administration was the organization of the government. Three executive departments were created: the Department of State, Department of the Treasury, and Department of War; the heads of these departments constituted the cabinet or advisory body to the President. Washington filled these offices with able men; Thomas Jefferson was made Secretary of State; Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury; and General Henry Knox, Secretary of War. The Post Office Department continued on its old basis and Samuel Osgood of Massachusetts was appointed Postmaster General. The office of Attorney-General was created and Edmund Randolph of Virginia was the first Attorney General. These officers were appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, but the first Congress decided that they could be removed by the President at will. The Supreme Court was organized as provided under the Constitution and inferior courts were created by Congress. The Supreme Court

consisted of a chief justice and five associate justices; John Jay was the first chief justice. By far the most important business of the first session of the first Congress was the raising of revenue. Under the Constitution revenue measures originate in the House of Representatives and that body framed a tariff act providing a tax on imports. The first tariff, which became law in 1789, was very low. The general rate of duties under this law was only about eight per cent.

JOHN JAY

Congress voted the President a salary of $25,000 a year. In order to satisfy the conditions imposed by many of the states, when they ratified the Constitution, Congress submitted ten amendments to the states for ratification. These ten amendments were passed and are called the Bill of Rights of the Constitution. The tenth expressly states that powers not delegated to the United States, by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states.

Hamilton's Financial Plans. The tariff was to provide revenue for the current expenses of the government but there was a heavy burden of debt upon the United States and upon the separate states as a consequence of the Revolutionary War and of the Confederation period. These obligations and the arrears in interest amounted to something like $54,000,000 which was then considered a vast sum. About $12,000,000 of this was due to foreign creditors and the remainder to the citizens of the states. It was necessary to provide for the payment of these debts

if the credit of the United States at home and abroad was ever to be established. Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, who proved to be a great financier, proposed a series of measures designed to restore the credit of the government and at the same time to insure a safe currency. The first provision of Hamilton's plan was to refund with new bonds the foreign and domestic debt of

OLD STATE HOUSE, PHILADELPHIA

the Confederation at full value. Congress passed a law to this effect and soon the holders of government bonds began to receive their interest at fixed intervals.

State Debts and Location of the Federal Capital. Another part of Hamilton's plan was for the federal government to assume the indebtedness of the separate states incurred in support of the war, which amounted to about $25,000,000. Hamilton believed in a strong national government which would dominate the states, and he believed

that his plan of assuming the debts of the states would encourage men of wealth to look to the central government instead of to the states. Vigorous opposition developed against this proposal, particularly from those states that had already paid a large part of their debt. The commercial North heartily favored the plan but the agricultural South opposed it. The bill was defeated in Congress on its first introduction but it was later revived and became a law under an agreement made by its friends and the friends of a measure for the location of the federal capital. The southern members of Congress wished the

WASHINGTON CITY IN 1800

federal district to be located on the Potomac River but the northern members opposed this location, preferring the Susquehanna or the Delaware. The differences on these two measures were very acute, but at length there was a compromise and both were passed. Philadelphia became the capital for ten years from 1790 to 1800, and after that a place on the Potomac was to be chosen. A few months later Washington selected the site of the present District of Columbia on the northern bank of the river upon land donated by the state of Maryland. Virginia also ceded land on the south side of the Potomac,

but this was returned. In due time the debts of the states were assumed and paid by the federal government.

The Excise and the Whiskey Rebellion. In order to increase the current revenues, Hamilton proposed an excise tax or an internal duty on distilled spirits or liquors. This became a law in 1791. In Congress there was comparatively little opposition to this act, but in the mountain regions of the West, particularly in Pennsylvania, it was bitterly opposed because it fell most heavily upon the people of that section. These people, being far removed from the markets, and without good roads, converted their corn into whiskey which they could more easily carry over the mountains and convert into money. The westerners thought the excise bore too heavily upon them and they were soon in open rebellion. In 1794 Washington summoned the militia to go into the western country to restore order and enforce the law, but the rebellion melted away upon the appearance of the troops. A few of the leaders were arrested but the President later pardoned them.

The United States Bank. Hamilton presented also a plan for a national bank in which the United States could be a stockholder and a director. The purpose of the institution was to provide a depository for government funds and to facilitate business by affording a steady and ample supply of currency. The bill aroused bitter opposition led by Jefferson who resisted it on the ground that the Constitution nowhere authorized the establishment of such a corporation and that Congress was assuming too much power. Hamilton contended that the right to establish a bank was implied and that the federal government had the right to adopt all means necessary for carrying out the powers expressly stated in the Constitution. The bill finally passed both houses and the first national bank was char-

tered in 1791 with a capital stock of $10,000,000, one-fifth of which was held by the United States government. In April, 1792, Congress established a mint at Philadelphia, the first product of which was the copper cent.

Political Parties. The sharp differences of opinion between the two groups of statesmen led by Hamilton and by Jefferson soon resulted in the organization of political parties. Hamilton and his associates believed in a liberal or loose construction of the Constitution; that is, they held that the government had the right to construe the Constitution in a most generous manner. Thomas Jefferson and his associates on the other hand believed in the strict construction of the Constitution and in safeguarding the rights of the states against all encroachments by the federal government. By these means Jefferson thought could be best secured the triumph of the democracy—the rule of the people. The Jeffersonian party became known as the Democratic-Republican party; the Hamiltonian party was called the Federalist party.

Washington Re-elected. In 1792 the second presidential election was held and both party leaders urged Washington to accept a re-election. The President did not ally himself with either political party, and though he had declared himself against a second term and earnestly longed for rest and retirement, he agreed, for the sake of harmony, to accept the office again. He was unanimously re-elected and Adams was re-elected Vice President.

Trouble With the Indians. Frontier problems faced the new government from the first. Emigrants from Virginia and from New England settled in the present state of Ohio and the Indians were exasperated by the steady encroachment of farms upon the forest. They were encouraged in their attitude by the presence of the British,

their former friends and allies, who in violation of the Treaty of 1783, had not yet evacuated the military posts in the Northwest. Raid after raid was made on little settlements along the frontier and an army, under General St. Clair, the governor of the Northwest Territory, that was sent to subdue the red men and protect the settlers, was defeated at Fort Recovery. The Indians became more active and daring than ever after this success, and under the leadership of the famous Mohawk chief, Joseph Brant, they demanded that nearly all of the Ohio country be surrendered to them. President Washington sent an army, under General Anthony Wayne, the hero of Stony Point, who met the Indians in battle on the Maumee, not far from where Toledo, Ohio, now stands, and gained such a signal victory that peace was insured to the western country for a long time.

Foreign Affairs. From the beginning of Washington's second administration in 1793 until 1815, there was hardly a year that the American people did not confront some serious foreign difficulty growing out of the confusion in Europe during these years. In 1789, the very year in which our government was organized under the Constitution, a terrible struggle against despotism developed in France. All titles of rank were abolished and in September, 1792, a French republic was set up on the ruins of the ancient monarchy. When the news reached America, a wave of enthusiastic sympathy with France swept over the country. The American people rejoiced that another nation had become a republic and they felt a peculiar fondness for France on account of her aid in our war for independence. But after King Louis XVI was executed and France declared war on Spain and England, public sentiment was divided.

France and the United States. France expected the United States to come to her assistance in her war against Great Britain, but thoughtful American statesmen, especially Washington and Hamilton, and even Jefferson, who passionately sympathized with the struggle of the French, realized that our country was still an infant republic and was in no condition to engage in war. Washington held that the treaty of 1778 bound us to aid France only in a defensive war, and accordingly on April 22, 1793, issued a proclamation of neutrality. He declared that this country would receive a minister from France, and thus recognize the sister republic, but this was as far as the United States felt warranted in assisting the new government.

"Citizen" Genet. In the meantime "Citizen" Genet, the new French minister, had arrived at Charleston and his journey northward developed into a continued public ovation. Leading citizens vied with one another in doing him honor and formed democratic clubs modeled after those in France. At last, on the very day that the neutrality proclamation was published in a Philadelphia newspaper, Genet arrived in that city. The minister's head had been completely turned by the reception accorded him by the people and, unmindful of the proclamation and of the impropriety of his conduct, he proceeded to act as if the United States were an ally of France. He enlisted men for the French service and authorized privateers to prey upon English commerce. When the government remonstrated with Genet he insolently threatened to appeal to the people against the administration. Finally, upon Washington's request, he was recalled by his own government. The Democrats sympathized strongly with the French in their struggle for "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" which was the slogan of the French Revolution.

The Federalists on the other hand rather sympathized with England, hoping to gain advantages in English trade; but the misconduct of Genet rallied both parties to the support of President Washington in maintaining the dignity and neutrality of the government.

Trade Rights of Neutrals. Trouble was also threatening with England. When the war with England began France threw open the trade of her colonies to neutral nations. Since practically all Europe at one time or another was involved in this war, the United States was the principal neutral country to profit by France's policy. But we hardly began to enjoy the benefits of this trade before the British ministry issued orders for the seizure of all vessels and cargoes engaged in traffic with the French colonies. There was no good feeling between the United States and England; neither country had been faithful to all the terms of the treaty of 1783, and Great Britain had contemptuously refused to make a commercial treaty with us.

Fresh grievances were now added. England was plundering our vessels on the high seas, seizing their cargoes of provisions as "contraband of war," treating our officers with contempt, and impressing our seamen into the service of English warships on the pretense that they were British subjects. The United States claimed the rights of a neutral nation and contended for the principle that neutral ships should be unmolested, or as the principle was phrased in that day, "Free ships make free goods." But England ignored the principle.

The Jay Treaty, 1794, and the Treaty With Spain. Public indignation ran high in America and the two countries seemed on the verge of war. But once more Washington's great common sense averted the danger, and negotiations for a peaceful adjustment were undertaken. John Jay,

then the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, was sent as a special envoy to England and a treaty was made as follows: first, both nations agreed to enforce the terms of the treaty of 1783. England promised to remove her troops from the Northwest and we pledged ourselves to settle the debts due to British merchants. Second, England agreed to make compensation for the capture of American vessels. Third, certain commercial concessions were made. But the West India trade was not thrown open to the United States, and England would not agree that "Free ships make free goods," nor would she renounce the right of impressment. The Jay treaty was to expire by limitation in twelve years. When its terms became known in the United States there was a storm of public protest. The insulting grievance of impressment of our seamen had not been abated and there was widespread opposition to the ratification of the treaty. Only the personal influence of Washington prevented its defeat in the Senate and it was adopted by the bare two-thirds majority which the Constitution requires. In the next year, 1795, a favorable treaty was negotiated with Spain whereby we obtained free navigation of the lower Mississippi River and she acknowledged the thirty-first parallel as the southern boundary of the United States.

Washington's Farewell Address. Another Presidential election was held in 1796, and though Washington was urged to serve again, he positively refused to accept a third term. He stated that he would rather be on his farm than to be made emperor of the world; and he retired to his home at Mt. Vernon, where he spent the remainder of his days attending to the affairs of his plantation and living the life of a dignified, prosperous country gentleman. In 1796 he issued his farewell address to the

American people, and the new republic experienced a profound regret upon realizing that it had lost the public service of its greatest citizen.

Election of Adams. The election of 1796 was the first great party contest for the Presidency. The Federalists put forth John Adams,[1] who had served eight years as Vice President, as their candidate, while Thomas Jefferson was the choice of the Democratic-Republicans. Adams

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MOUNT VERNON THE HOME OF WASHINGTON

was elected by a majority of only three votes and became President, while Jefferson became Vice President. This was due to the fact that according to the original method,

[1]John Adams was born at Quincy, Massachusetts, October 30, 1735. He was a graduate of Harvard college, and began the practice of law in 1758. Throughout the period of the quarrel with the mother country, he was closely associated with Samuel Adams, his cousin, in the political leadership of Massachusetts. Adams was one of the committee appointed to prepare the Declaration of Independence, of which Thomas Jefferson was the chief author. He was our first minister to England. After the close of his term as President, he retired to his home in Massachusetts, where he died on the same day as Jefferson, July 4, 1826, just fifty years after the passing of the Declaration of Independence.

candidates were not named for each office separately, but the candidate who received the majority of the electoral votes became President, while the one who received the next greatest number became Vice President. Adams was a man of devoted patriotism and of much wisdom who had served his country well since the early days of the revolution; but he was lacking in tact, did not easily make friends, and sometimes he was misunderstood and unjustly criticised.

JOHN ADAMS

X. Y. Z. Affair. France bitterly resented the Jay Treaty, which she thought established friendly terms with her great rival, and the election of Adams increased the ill-feeling because she regarded the Federalist party as pro-British in sympathy. Our minister, Charles C. Pinckney, was dismissed with little ceremony, the French minister to the United States was recalled and France began seizing American ships and cargoes on the high seas. Adams became President on March 4, 1797, and in May he called a special session of Congress to consider the situation. But following the example of Washington, he strove to avert war and commissioned John Marshall, a Federalist; Elbridge Gerry, a Democrat, and Charles C. Pinckney, the Federalist minister whom France had dismissed, as special envoys to make a last effort to reach a peaceful understanding with France. These ministers were never formally received by the Directory, as the French execu-

tive department was then called, but that body sent three agents described anonymously in the report of the negotiations as X Y Z to confer with the American embassy. These French agents made it plain that the American envoys would be recognized and terms of peace considered only upon payment of a large sum of money intended for the pockets of the members of the Directory. The American ambassadors rejected these overtures and Pinckney replied emphatically, "No, no; not a penny."

Settlement With France. When these facts became known in America, the popular cry was, "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute," and Adams declared that he would never send another minister to France until he was assured that he would be "honored as the representative of a great, free, powerful, and independent nation." War with France now seemed inevitable. Congress enlarged the army and made Washington commander-in-chief, increased the navy, licensed privateers, and ordered the capture of French vessels. For more than two years there were hostilities at sea and the Americans captured many French merchantmen and a few warships. In 1799 the Directory was overthrown and Napoleon Bonaparte dominated France. When he signified a desire to make peace on fair terms his overtures were promptly accepted.

Alien and Sedition Laws. During the excitement over the French war the President was genuinely popular. Addresses were sent to him from all parts of the country in praise of his patriotism and courage. Songs were written in his honor, the chief of which, *Hail Columbia,* is preserved as one of our national airs today. Adams and his party took advantage of this popularity to pass a series of acts which they thought would crush the opposition of the Democrats. Democratic newspapers, which had been

friendly to France since the time of Genet's mission, did not hesitate to criticise in the severest terms the President and the whole Federalist policy. Several prominent foreigners in the country had also expressed themselves in opposition to this policy. The Federalists controlled both houses of Congress and they resolved to be rid of aliens who were charged with formulating resistance to the government, and to stop the publication of articles that were called seditious. Drastic measures, known as the Alien and Sedition Acts, were passed. The President was empowered by the first of these acts to arrest and imprison or expel any alien or foreigner whom he should suspect of being dangerous to the government. A naturalization act was passed raising the required term of residence from five to fourteen years. The Sedition Act made it a crime to publish severe criticisms of the government, of Congress, or of the President.

Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions. The Democrats of that day and the most enlightened statesmen of later times believed that the Alien and Sedition laws were unconstitutional since they restrained freedom of speech and of the press which are guaranteed in the first ten amendments. Jefferson feared that such violations of the Constitution might lead to dismemberment of the Union, and he resolved to make an appeal to the people through the state legislatures. The legislature of Kentucky adopted a set of resolutions framed by Jefferson himself and a little later the legislature of Virginia adopted a similar set of resolutions written by James Madison. These resolutions declared that the Constitution is a compact between sovereign states that had delegated to the federal government certain powers, but had reserved all other powers to themselves; that the government created by the states

was not the final judge of the extent of the powers delegated, but that each state has an equal right to judge for itself. Kentucky went so far as to assert that when the federal government overstepped its powers its acts should be nullified. These resolutions were sent to the other states asking that they unite in urging the repeal of the Alien and Sedition Acts. In the northern states the Federalists controlled the legislatures and unfavorable replies were made, but none of them denied the compact theory of the Constitution. The acts were soon to expire, so the Democrats did not press the matter further.

Death of Washington. While the controversy over the radical measures of the Federalists was at its point of greatest bitterness, there came a sudden hush upon the strife. Factional clamorings ceased, for Washington, the universally beloved, was dead. This great man, whose life for nearly fifty years was bound up with that of his country and whose manliness and statesmanship were essential to the formation of the Union, had passed forever from the walks of men. His fame had spread abroad and in distant lands his death was regarded as a loss to mankind. In a eulogy delivered in Congress, Henry Lee declared him, "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

Jefferson's Election. In the election of 1800, Adams was defeated. The Federalists by their assumption of unwarranted power lost their hold on the people and a long standing quarrel between Hamilton and Adams further weakened the party by dividing it into factions. Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr were the candidates of the triumphant Democrats, but an unexpected complication arose. Precisely the same number of votes was cast for each of these candidates. In case no candidate receives a

majority of the votes in the electoral college, the President is chosen by the House of Representatives, the members from each state casting one vote. After some delay Jefferson was chosen President and Burr Vice President. In consequence of this election an amendment to the Constitution was passed by which all candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency are named as such on the ballot. This was the twelfth amendment and became law in 1804. The eleventh, which forbids an individual to sue a sovereign state, had become law in 1798.

The Midnight Judges. The election over, the Federalists spent their remaining months of power in trying to insure the supremacy of their party in one branch of the government. John Marshall of Virginia was made Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and for over thirty years this great jurist presided over the highest court in the land. A judiciary act was passed in 1801, a few weeks before the close of the administration, creating a number of new federal courts when there was no need for them and Adams filled all these judgeships with strong Federalists. He sat up until late in the night of March 3, 1801, making the appointments, and ever afterward these judges were called the "midnight judges."

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

1. What was the difference between the Anti-Federalists in 1787-8 and the Republicans of 1796?
2. Was the doctrine of strict construction applied to a U. S. postoffice or U. S. bank? Was the doctrine of loose construction applied to the same?
3. What invention in England had brought about a condition to render England a great market for raw cotton?
4. Why did England oppose the French Revolution?
5. What effect did the invention of the cotton gin have upon New England industry?

CHAPTER XIII

DEMOCRACY AND EXPANSION

THOMAS JEFFERSON, President, 1801-1809
AARON BURR, Vice President, 1801-1805
GEORGE CLINTON, Vice President, 1805-1809

New Party in Power. At 12 o'clock noon on the fourth of March, 1801, Thomas Jefferson, accompanied by a few friends, walked quietly from his boarding house to the partly finished capitol at Washington and took the oath of office.[1] The surroundings in the new capital to which the government had been removed the year before bespoke the democratic simplicity which Jefferson loved and exemplified. In manners and ideas, the new President was quite different from his predecessors. Washington and Adams deemed it proper for the head of the government to observe much ceremony, and to stand somewhat apart from the

THOMAS JEFFERSON

[1]Thomas Jefferson was born in Virginia, in 1743. He was a student at William and Mary College at the beginning of the controversy with the mother country. In his young manhood, he was a member of the House of Burgesses and later a member of the second Continental Congress. During Confederation days, he was minister to France. Jefferson was a man of wonderful intellect and resources. He possessed a marvelous power of leadership; was a profound student and an accomplished scholar; was deeply interested in scientific investigation, and he could read several languages with ease; our decimal system of currency was of his devising, and he was founder of the University of Virginia. He was a fine horseman, an accomplished musician, and a successful farmer. He died, July 4, 1826, on the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Indpendence.

people but Jefferson maintained intimate intercourse with the masses at all times. He did not hold formal weekly receptions in courtly fashion, but he entertained hospitably and the White House was always open to visitors. This was most pleasing to the people who had become impatient of the formalities practiced by Federal officeholders. Jefferson quietly put aside another precedent of Federalist days. Instead of opening Congress with a formal address as Washington and Adams had done, he communicated his

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MONTICELLO, THE HOME OF THOMAS JEFFERSON

recommendations in a written message. This relieved him of the necessity of speaking in public to which he was very much averse. Economy was the watchword of the new administration and under the management of Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, and one of the ablest financiers who ever held that office, the public debt was much diminished. The army was greatly reduced and far less was spent on the navy. The Judiciary Act of 1801 was repealed because it was regarded as creating an unnecessary expense.

Transfer of Louisiana. By far the most important event of Jefferson's administration was the Purchase of Louisiana, the western half of the most valuable river valley on the face of the earth. In 1783 when the independence of the United States was acknowledged, Spain still held Louisiana, which France had ceded to her at the close of the French and Indian Wars, and spread consternation in the West by threatening to close the mouth of the Mississippi. When Jefferson became President, Louisiana no longer belonged to Spain. Napoleon Bonaparte, the dictator of France and would-be master of all Europe, was fired with the purpose of winning back for France her former possessions on this continent. He forced Spain to cede Louisiana to France and the mouth of the Mississippi was closed to the trade of our western states.

CABILDO BUILDING, NEW ORLEANS

(In this building the transfer of Louisiana by Spain to France and again by France to the United States was formally made.)

When this news reached the United States there was intense excitement throughout the West and the people were eager at a moment's notice to descend the Mississippi River and seize New Orleans. The situation was critical. Louisiana in the hands of the weak and inefficient Spain, and Louisiana in the hands of France under the masterful Bonaparte, were entirely different. From Spain there was

little or nothing to fear, but the aggressiveness of France would be a constant danger to the United States. We must obtain control of New Orleans in order to have an outlet for our western commerce, or we must enter the European wars and fight France side by side with England.

Louisiana Purchase. President Jefferson sent James Monroe as special envoy to join Robert R. Livingston, our minister to France, in a negotiation for the purchase of the island of New Orleans and West Florida for which they were authorized to spend ten million dollars. Much to the surprise of our ministers, Napoleon, in 1803, offered to sell to the United States the whole of Louisiana for fifteen million dollars. The facts were that Napoleon had failed to reconquer the rich colony of Haiti, which had revolted and which he regarded as a necessary stepping-stone between France and Louisiana. He was face to face with another war with England and the weakness of the French navy made it impossible for him to hold the province, so he decided to sell it in order to prevent its falling into the hands of England, his bitter enemy. His offer was promptly accepted and thus the vast region between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains, extending from Canada on the north to Texas on the south, fell into our hands and the territory of the United States was more than doubled. The wily monarch congratulated himself that he had replenished his purse and rejoiced that he had sold Louisiana to a country that some day might humble the proud "mistress of the seas."

Jefferson realized perhaps more than anyone else the value of the acquisition of this vast territory of 900,000 square miles. But he believed in strict construction of the Constitution and there is in that instrument no specific warrant for the acquisition of territory. He desired

a constitutional amendment before the ratification of the treaty, but this process was looked upon as too slow. The delays might prove fatal, for Napoleon might change his mind. So the President took the responsibility of purchasing the territory, and after the new region was acquired suggested an amendment to the Constitution.[1] But other Democratic statesmen seemed satisfied with the approbation of the people. Particularly in the West was there rejoicing over the event, for at last we had an outlet to the Gulf of Mexico. The New England Federalists realizing that this vast territory to the south and west would increase the influence of the agricultural states and decrease that of the shipping states, bitterly denounced the purchase of Louisiana, and many prominent men suggested that the time had come to secede from the Union and set up an independent confederacy at the North.

MOUNTAIN TRAIL IN THE COUNTRY TRAVERSED BY LEWIS AND CLARK

Lewis and Clark Expedition. As early as 1791 Captain Robert Gray of Boston had entered the Pacific Ocean. He discovered the Columbia River which he named for his

[1]It is a fair assumption that the framers of the Constitution deemed it unnecessary to set out in express words a right which in the nature of things must inhere in any government for its own protection as well as for its own development. The Supreme Court later rendered an opinion to this effect.

vessel, and thus gave us a claim to the Northwest. Jefferson was interested in extending knowledge of this region and in opening the way for American traders and trappers in competition with the British. So after the acquisition of Louisiana, a party of forty-five men was sent out in 1804 under command of Meriwether Lewis,

ROUTES TAKEN BY LEWIS AND CLARK AND BY ZEBULON PIKE IN EXPLORING THE NEW TERRITORY

the President's private secretary, and William Clark, a younger brother of George Rogers Clark of Revolutionary fame. They started from St. Louis, then a straggling village of log cabins, on May 14, 1804, and ascended the Missouri River to its head waters. Thence these daring

spirits made their way westward across the summit of the Rockies and descended the Columbia River along its westward course to the Pacific, reaching the shores of that ocean in the winter of 1805. Soon the explorers took up their homeward journey and in September of 1806, they reached St. Louis. They had been absent nearly two years and had traveled more than eight thousand miles in boats, on horseback, and on foot. Throughout all their journey and hardships, only one of their party had deserted, one had died, and one Indian had been killed. This exploration gave some idea of the vast extent and the immense wealth of the far West, and gave us another claim to the Oregon country. Five years later John Jacob Astor established Astoria, a fur trading station at the mouth of the Columbia.

Pike's and Long's Expeditions. While Lewis and Clark were in the Northwest, two other exploring parties were sent out under Colonel Zebulon Pike. The first went northward in 1805 to the source of the Mississippi; Colonel Pike ascended the Arkansas far into the West, passed through Colorado and discovered the peak which now bears his name. He went as far to the southwest as the Spanish settlements on the Rio Grande. In 1819-1820, Major Stephen H. Long ascended the Missouri for many miles, reached the source of the Platte and discovered Long's Peak. As a result of these various expeditions there arose an opinion that civilized life could not develop west of the first tier of states beyond the Mississippi; that the Far West was a good Indian country, but not a white man's land.

Fulton's Steamboat. When Louisiana was purchased the common impression was that in all probability one hundred years would elapse before it would be anything

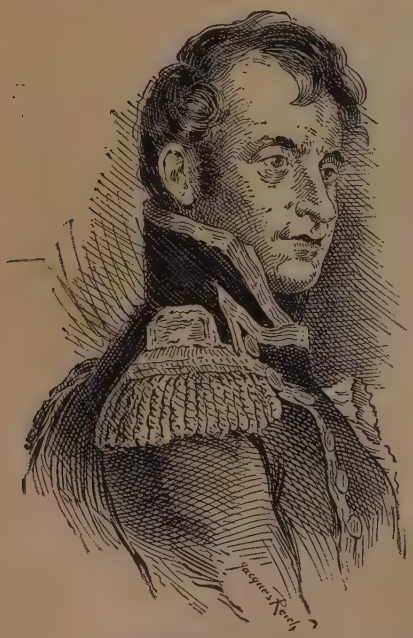
more than a wilderness. The region between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi had not yet been settled, although the state of Ohio, the third commonwealth to be erected out of the West, was admitted to the Union in 1803. But the first half of the nineteenth century was to reveal many marvelous changes in the means of transportation and communication, and the West was destined to grow as if by magic. The first of these changes came while Jefferson was President. In 1807, Robert Fulton's invention of the steamboat proved to be successful. His first craft, the *Clermont,* which the people nicknamed

FULTON'S FIRST STEAMBOAT, THE CLERMONT

"Fulton's Folly," undertook to make the trip on the Hudson River from New York to Albany. On the day advertised, enormous crowds gathered on the banks of the river to witness the venture, though few people entertained the slightest hope of seeing a boat move without sails or oars. The little *Clermont,* on her first effort, moved slowly but surely up the stream and the populace shouted in surprise, "She moves! She moves!" The trip of 150 miles was made in thirty-two hours, which was rapid traveling

in those days. It was not long before steamboats were plying back and forth on the rivers penetrating far into the West, laden with passengers and freight and defying wind and current. These queer-looking vessels, puffing forth huge clouds of fire and smoke, struck terror to the hearts of many who saw them for the first time. The superstitious thought that the end of the world was surely at hand. In 1819 the *Savannah* made the first trip by steam across the Atlantic, starting from Savannah, Georgia. Not for twenty years afterwards, however, was ocean navigation by steam permanently established.

War With Tripoli. Jefferson was a lover of peace as well as a believer in democracy. He had dreams of a time when nations would settle their differences by arbitration rather than by appeal to arms; nevertheless he made war on Tripoli. For hundreds of years the Mohammedan princes of the Barbary States, as Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli are called, had made piracy on the Mediterranean their chief business. Tripoli and other towns on the northern coast of Africa were nests of pirates. Unless tribute money was paid to these highwaymen of the sea, they captured vessels, confiscated their cargoes and either held the captives for ransom or sold



STEPHEN DECATUR

them into slavery. The United States, following the customs of European nations, had paid tribute to these Barbary princes for the privilege of allowing our merchant vessels to navigate the Mediterranean in peace. But the pirates became more and more greedy in their exactions, and at last the Pasha of Tripoli, who received an annual tribute of $83,000 in money and presents, insolently sent word that he would wait six months for a handsome present from us and if it were not forthcoming he would declare war on the United States. The present sent was a little fleet of American vessels, under the command of Commodore Preble which appeared off Tripoli with frowning cannon. The town was bombarded and the Pasha meekly agreed to live at peace with America without tribute, and soon the other Barbary states followed his example. This war served to give training to our sailors, and by a daring exploit, Lieutenant Stephen Decatur gained a place among our naval heroes. The American warship *Philadelphia* had been captured by the pirates, and the Mohammedan ensign took the place of "Old Glory" at her mast head. Decatur with seventy-five men sailed boldly into the harbor of Tripoli to rescue the ship. While the Tripolitans were looking on, in an open boat he reached the *Philadelphia*, set fire to her and soon she was a mass of flames. Decatur and his gallant crew, amid a storm of shot from the surprised pirate port, swept out of the harbor and regained the open sea.

English Orders and French Decrees. In 1804 Jefferson was re-elected to the Presidency with very little opposition and George Clinton of New York succeeded Burr as Vice President. The great problem of Jefferson's second administration was the foreign relations of the United States. The European struggle growing first out of the

French Revolution and then out of the overmastering ambition of Napoleon had continued since 1792 with hardly a breathing space. France had conquered on the continent of Europe; England on the seas. Now each nation was trying to destroy the other by crushing its trade. England issued a series of "Orders in Council" in which she declared practically every port of Europe in a state of blockade, and forbade neutral ships to enter these ports. Napoleon, now emperor of the French and lord of a dozen subject kingdoms besides, retaliated by a series of decrees which forbade neutral vessels to enter British ports on pain of seizure and instituted a boycott upon all English goods found in France or in her allied states.

Impressments. These decrees and orders bore heavily on the commerce of the United States. We floated almost the only neutral flag on the seas and had become the chief carrier of the world, transporting to European ports the products of every climate. Soon American ships were cut off from almost every port in Europe, American property was seized by the wholesale on the high seas, and American seamen were impressed into the British service. The harsh discipline and the poor pay in the British navy caused frequent desertion. Very often when an English ship would put into an American harbor, the whole crew would desert, take out false naturalization papers and the English captain would find himself without a crew. These deserters would sometimes enlist in the American merchant service or in the navy. The English were not careful whom they seized. They did not recognize our naturalization laws, and claimed that "once an Englishman always an Englishman." Before the War of 1812 England had searched more than nine hundred of our ships and impressed thousands of Americans into the British serv-

ice. The French likewise committed many outrages on our commerce, but the British, because of their larger navy, did it on a much bigger scale and bitterness of feeling was more intense against England.

The Chesapeake and the Leopard. In June, 1807, the people of the United States were aroused by one particular circumstance to a war spirit somewhat like that in the days of the X Y Z Affair. The British frigate *Leopard* met the United States frigate *Chesapeake* just outside of the capes of Virginia and demanded the surrender of four deserters. Three of them were Americans that had been forced into the British navy and had escaped; the fourth was a British seaman who had enlisted under an assumed name. The commander of the *Chesapeake* refused the demand, whereupon the *Leopard* opened fire and killed and wounded more than twenty of the American crew.

The Embargo. This outrage, coming as a climax to the irritation produced by the English Orders and the French Decrees, provoked fierce anger among the American people and a demand for instant war, but Jefferson was determined, if possible, to keep the peace. To go to war with both France and England would mean suicide; to submit tamely to these injuries and insults would mean loss of honor and dignity. To save the situation, Jefferson proposed measures of retaliation upon the trade of France and England who tormented us in punishing each other. In response to the President's recommendation Congress passed an Embargo Act which forbade the departure of any vessel of the United States to a foreign port. If American ships could not be safe from attacks on the seas, they would better stay at home. The products upon which English merchants depended would be cut off and they would confront commercial ruin.

The Non-Intercourse Act. The Embargo Act was designed to hurt England and France, but it was soon evident that it was injuring our own trade as much as our worst enemy could wish. Shipping interests and the export trade were almost paralyzed. Farmers found their crops had little value if they could not be sent to market. The South perhaps suffered most of all because there was little sale for her great staples, tobacco and cotton; her capital could not be easily diverted to other channels and her negro slaves could not be discharged but had to be supported. The people of New England were engaged chiefly in commerce and the Embargo Act so interfered with their business that smuggling became common and a brisk trade with Canada was developed. Congress was compelled to pass an Enforcing Act, which New England resented so bitterly that she began to talk of nullifying the Embargo Act and of secession. So great and so general was the dissatisfaction with the Embargo Act that it was repealed in 1809, just a short time before Jefferson's second term expired. In its place Congress passed the Non-Intercourse Act, which forbade trade with England and France, but permitted it with other nations.

The Burr Conspiracy. During the troublous times leading to the Embargo, Aaron Burr, the former Vice President, was tried for treason. He had lost the support of a large part of the Democrats and in 1804 the party had ignored him and elected George Clinton of New York to the Vice Presidency; Burr became a candidate for governor of New York on an independent ticket; but Hamilton, the great Federalist leader, exerted all his influence against him and accomplished his defeat. Stung by this humiliation, Burr challenged Hamilton to a duel and killed him. Popular indignation over the tragedy was so great that

Burr became an outcast. In 1805 he went into the Louisiana country and for the next few months his life was shrouded in mystery. He began collecting provisions, arms, and troops, but just what his plans were, has never been made clear. Some thought that he was endeavoring to establish a separate republic by the secession of the West from the East; others thought that he contemplated establishing an empire in the southwest by conquering Texas or Mexico or some other of the Spanish lands. In a general way he was suspected of harboring some desperate and treasonable scheme. At last he was arrested and tried for treason, but there was not sufficient evidence that he had levied war against the United States, or had given aid and comfort to the country's enemies, and he was acquitted. After this Burr left the United States and went here and there over the world lonely and hopeless. After four years he returned to New York and lived and died in obscurity.

Election of 1808. Another presidential election was held in 1808. Jefferson had requests from several states to serve a third term, but he refused because he believed that successive re-elections might lead to a life tenure. Jefferson's action, following that of Washington, established the two-term precedent for the presidential office which ever since has been observed. James Madison, the Democratic candidate who had been Jefferson's Secretary of State, defeated Charles C. Pinckney, the Federalist candidate. Clinton was re-elected Vice President. At his inaugural, Madison wore a suit of home manufacture, made of cloth woven from the wool of merino sheep raised in the United States.

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

1. Name other great men of that day besides Jefferson who were Virginians.
2. Why were the people of Tennessee and Western Kentucky so anxious as to who controlled Louisiana?
3. Under what flags has Louisiana passed?
4. What invention had made possible the steamboat?
5. Why was our country almost the only neutral power at this time?
6. How was the Embargo Act a disappointment to its authors?
7. Give evidence that the Union was still not well cemented.
8. Would the Non-Intercourse Act be of much benefit to our commerce?

CHAPTER XIV

THE WAR OF 1812: FREEDOM ON THE SEAS

JAMES MADISON, President, 1809-1817.
GEORGE CLINTON, Vice President, 1809-1813.
ELBRIDGE GERRY, Vice President, 1813-1817.

Napoleon's Trickery. Madison[1] made determined efforts to continue Jefferson's policy of peace. The United States agreed to revoke the Non-intercourse Act, passed a few days before Jefferson's term expired, if France and England would repeal the Decrees and Orders, and they each in turn agreed to a repeal if the other nation would do likewise. Finally, Napoleon claimed that he had revoked the Decrees and the Non-intercourse Act was repealed as far as France was concerned. Thereupon many American ships went into French ports, only to find that the United States had been tricked, for the Decrees had not been repealed. Our vessels were seized and property worth millions of dollars was confiscated by the treacherous Napoleon.

JAMES MADISON

[1]James Madison was born in Virginia in 1751. He was graduated at Princeton College in 1771, and from that time until the close of his second term as President, he played an important part in the great events of the country. His greatest service was as a member of the Federal Convention in 1787. In 1817, Madison retired to his country home at Montpelier, where he took great interest in promoting agriculture. His wife, Dolly Madison, as her friends called her, was greatly admired for her beauty and accomplishments. Madison died in 1836.

The President and the Little Belt. England, doubting Napoleon's good faith, had refused to repeal her Orders. However, she tried to make reparation for the attack on the *Chesapeake* by appropriating money to the families of the injured and slain. But the British continued their practice of impressment and the United States frigate, the *President,* while patrolling the coast to protect American vessels, met the British sloop of war, *Little Belt.* The vessels fired on each other and the *Little Belt* was defeated. England paid no attention to the incident and the Americans rejoiced that the *Chesapeake* was avenged.

Indian Troubles. Meanwhile, events were occurring in the United States in which England seemed to play a part. The Indians in the Northwest were in a state of war. This trouble was ever old and ever new—the persistent encroachment of the whites and the stubborn resistance of the red men. General William Henry Harrison, governor of Indiana territory, made a treaty with several tribes and purchased their lands on the upper Wabash. Tecumseh and his twin brother, the Prophet, who belonged to a tribe not interested in the cession, ignored the treaty on the contention that the lands belonged to all the tribes together and could not be ceded. Tecumseh had a deep-laid plan of uniting all the Indian tribes of the Northwest and the Southwest against the whites to check the westward movement. The Indians had secured their arms and ammunition in Canada, and the English were suspected, though unjustly, of having incited them to hostilities. Along the frontier there was constant marauding, and General Harrison marched into the Indian country to punish the offenders. In the battle of Tippecanoe the Indians were defeated and hundreds of them crossed into Canada where they enlisted in the British army.

The Twelfth Congress. The country was drifting inevitably toward war. Although France had given us as much cause for resentment as England, still the large majority of the people except in New England was aflame with resentment against Great Britain as the greater offender. When the twelfth Congress, said to be the ablest in our history, assembled for the first time, many young men, all "war hawks," as they were called, made the bold declaration of a determination not to endure longer the insults heaped upon us by foreign nations. Henry Clay of Kentucky, then a young man of most attractive personality, full of dāring, talented to a high degree, and typical of the western spirit, was chosen Speaker of the House of Representatives. Another striking new member was John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, grave, dignified, and a masterful debater. Madison sent to Congress the letters of John Henry, an English spy, which he had bought for $50,000. They showed a suspicious and unfriendly attitude on the part of England and revealed that, in all probability, Massachusetts would lead in opposition to a war with that nation. These letters served to deepen the popular hostility to Great Britain. On June 18, 1812, Congress declared war on England. Four main causes were recited: first, inciting the Indians to hostilities; second, interference with neutral trade through the Orders in Council; third, searching our ships and confiscating their cargoes; fourth, impressment of our seamen. In the fall of the year in which war was declared, Madison was re-elected to the Presidency and Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, who had represented the country as commissioner in the X Y Z affair, was elected Vice President.

Surrender of Detroit. The first object was to attack Canada, as our main reliance was upon our land forces. Three

campaigns were planned: one from the west by the way of Detroit, another from the center by way of Sackett's Harbor and Niagara, and the third from Lake Champlain northward. The first blow was to be struck in the West. General Hull, a Revolutionary leader then in command at Detroit, was to invade Canada, but he was intimidated by a large force of English under General Brock and Indian allies under Tecumseh. General Brock demanded the surrender of Detroit, threatening Hull with Indian atrocities if he did not yield. Finally Hull sent out a white flag and Detroit fell into the hands of the British without a blow.

Other Canadian Campaigns. General Dearborn had made an attempt to march against Montreal from the Lake Champlain country, but New York and New England were opposed to the war and the militia from those states refusing to go beyond Plattsburg into Canada, he was forced to turn back and go into winter quarters. The third campaign by way of Niagara was equally unfortunate. Major General Stephen Van Rensselaer of the New York militia was in command of one thousand men at Lewiston. Reenforced by five thousand troops he made an attack on Queenstown which resulted in a serious defeat. On account of a quarrel between General Van Rensselaer, commanding the militia, and General Smythe, in command of the regulars, the army did not act in co-operation and was soon overwhelmed by the British whose commander, General Brock, was killed in the engagement.

Sea Fights. Although we had only about twenty vessels and had declared war on the greatest commercial and naval power in the world, we gave but little thought to the preparation of a navy. Our ships were the best of their kind but not one of them was equal to a first class

British battleship. But our sailors were well trained and thoroughly disciplined. The little navy started out gallantly in search of the enemy. Three days after General Hull's surrender of Detroit, his nephew, Captain Hull, commanding the ship *Constitution,* "Old Ironsides" as she came to be called, met the British warship *Guerriere* in the gulf of St. Lawrence and in thirty minutes the *Guerriere* was a dismantled hulk rolling helplessly on the waves. Within an hour after the fight the *Constitution* was repaired and was ready to search for new prey. This brief battle of half an hour broke the "sacred spell" of Great Britain on the seas. The Americans went wild with joy over the victory. In October the British sloop of war *Frolic* surrendered to the American *Wasp,* but both vessels were later captured by a British man-of-war. Just one week after the *Wasp's* victory, Captain Decatur, of the *United States,* captured the British frigate *Macedonian* off the Madeira Islands and towed her into New London, Connecticut, where she was overhauled and converted into a first-class American fighting ship. The famous *Constitution* once more went forth to victory before the year 1812 had closed, under the command of Captain Bainbridge and captured the *Java* off the coast of Brazil. The results of this six months of naval warfare surprised the world.

ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE CONSTITUTION AND THE GUERRIERE

Great Britain was humiliated, while American patriotism and pride were aroused to the highest pitch.

Hornet and Peacock. Chesapeake and Shannon. The year 1813 opened with another American victory on the seas. In February the *Hornet,* commanded by Captain Law-

DEATH OF CAPTAIN LAWRENCE

rence, captured the British frigate *Peacock* in South American waters. After this victory Lawrence was transferred to the command of the famous *Chesapeake* and while this vessel lay off Boston she was challenged by Captain Broke of the *Shannon.* Lawrence's crew was new and not yet well trained, nevertheless he was willing to risk an encounter. Captain Broke had a crew perfectly trained for action. The engagement was short and bloody.

Lawrence was mortally wounded early in the fight and as he was borne below deck he cried out almost with his dying breath, "Don't give up the ship," but the *Chesapeake* was compelled to surrender, and was taken as a prize to Halifax. The naval war had assumed such proportions that Great Britain kept a large part of her fleet in American waters, and our little navy, though considerably increased in numbers, found it impossible to prevent the blockading of important harbors on our coast. This crippled us during the remainder of the war, for the best of our ships were soon bottled up in the harbors and were unable to run the blockade.

The Essex and the Privateers. It devolved upon the smaller vessels and the privateers from 1813 forward to uphold American prestige at sea. The *Essex,* an audacious little craft, made her way around Cape Horn far into the Pacific where no American frigate had ventured before. Here she protected American merchant vessels and captured British whalers which she armed and converted into a little fleet. At last the *Essex* was blockaded in Valparaiso by two British vessels and forced to surrender. Our privateers meanwhile inflicted severe losses, amounting to millions, upon British shipping. Furs from Siberia, tea and silk from China and Japan, or ivory from Africa, anything and everything carried in English ships, fell into the possession of these bold Americans.

Raisin River Massacre. The land campaign of 1813 showed some gain for the United States in the extreme west. General William Henry Harrison of Tippecanoe fame was appointed to succeed General Hull. The British from their strong position in Detroit made invasions into the Ohio valley and loosed their Indian allies on the country. In the early winter of 1813, an advance force

of Harrison's army, a body of brave Kentuckians and Ohioans under General Winchester, were attacked and horribly massacred at the Raisin River in southern Michigan. General Proctor, in command of the British, cruelly allowed his Indians to butcher the wounded prisoners and for years afterward the name of Raisin River was a phrase of horror. Harrison was forced to drop back to Ft. Meigs. In the spring Proctor made an effort to drive him out, but failing in this, he turned to attack Fort Stephenson, near Sandusky. Here the one little cannon of the fort did valiant work and the British were repulsed.

PERRY AT THE BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE

Perry's Victory. To recover Detroit, it was necessary for the Americans to gain the mastery of Lake Erie, which was held by Commodore Barclay with a small English fleet. Oliver Hazard Perry, a gallant young naval officer, undertook the task of clearing the lake of the British vessels. His fleet had to be built from the timber standing in the forests back from the lake shore, and everything else needed had to be hauled from Philadelphia and New York over almost impassable roads; but the work was accomplished, and in September Perry had a fleet of six vessels ready for action. He met the British at Put-in-Bay. Several of the enemy's vessels centered their fire upon Perry's flagship, the *Lawrence,* and in about two hours two-thirds of her crew were killed or wounded

and the vessel was in a sinking condition. In an open boat, with his banner bearing Lawrence's dying words, "Don't give up the ship," Perry crossed under the enemy's fire to his next largest vessel, the *Niagara,* and the battle was continued without abatement. Soon the British were compelled to surrender and the Stars and Stripes waved triumphantly in the breeze. On the back of an old letter, Perry scribbled this dispatch to Harrison: "We have met

Courtesy Chicago Historical Society

HARRISON AND TECUMSEH

the enemy and they are ours; two ships, two frigates, one schooner, and one sloop."

Battle of the Thames. General Harrison was not slow to take advantage of Perry's victory, but when he marched against Detroit he found that the enemy had fled. Setting out after the retreating Proctor, he passed the ruins of Ft. Malden and met the British general and his Indian allies

at the Thames River, where he won a signal victory. Tecumseh was killed, many prisoners were taken, and the power of the British and the Indians was completely broken in the Northwest. Meanwhile, efforts were made again to invade Canada by way of the Niagara and Lake Champlain routes, this time under the direction of General James Wilkinson and General Wade Hampton, but again the undertaking failed.

Chippewa and Lundy's Lane; Victory for the Americans. The Americans had learned something from the repeated disasters to their armies. As fast as possible, soldiers who had shown ability were promoted. Such men as General Jacob Brown and Winfield Scott were in command and they set about training the army. The result of their work was manifest in the summer of 1814 when the Americans again undertook the invasion of Canada by way of Niagara. Brown and Scott crossed the river and defeated the British at Chippewa. Twenty days later the two forces met again in a more desperate encounter at Lundy's Lane near the great waterfall. The fighting began about dark and continued far into the night, each army directing its fire by the flash of the enemy's muskets. The Americans claimed the victory but the British remained in possession of the field.

British Plans. Napoleon was forced to abdicate in 1814 and retired to the island of Elba. Great Britain now planned to concentrate her strength against the United States and by four separate attacks bring the war to a speedy close. First, veteran troops who had not slept under a roof for seven years were landed in Maine in order to hold this territory when peace should be made. Second, there was to be an invasion of New York by Burgoyne's old route. Third, an expedition was to be

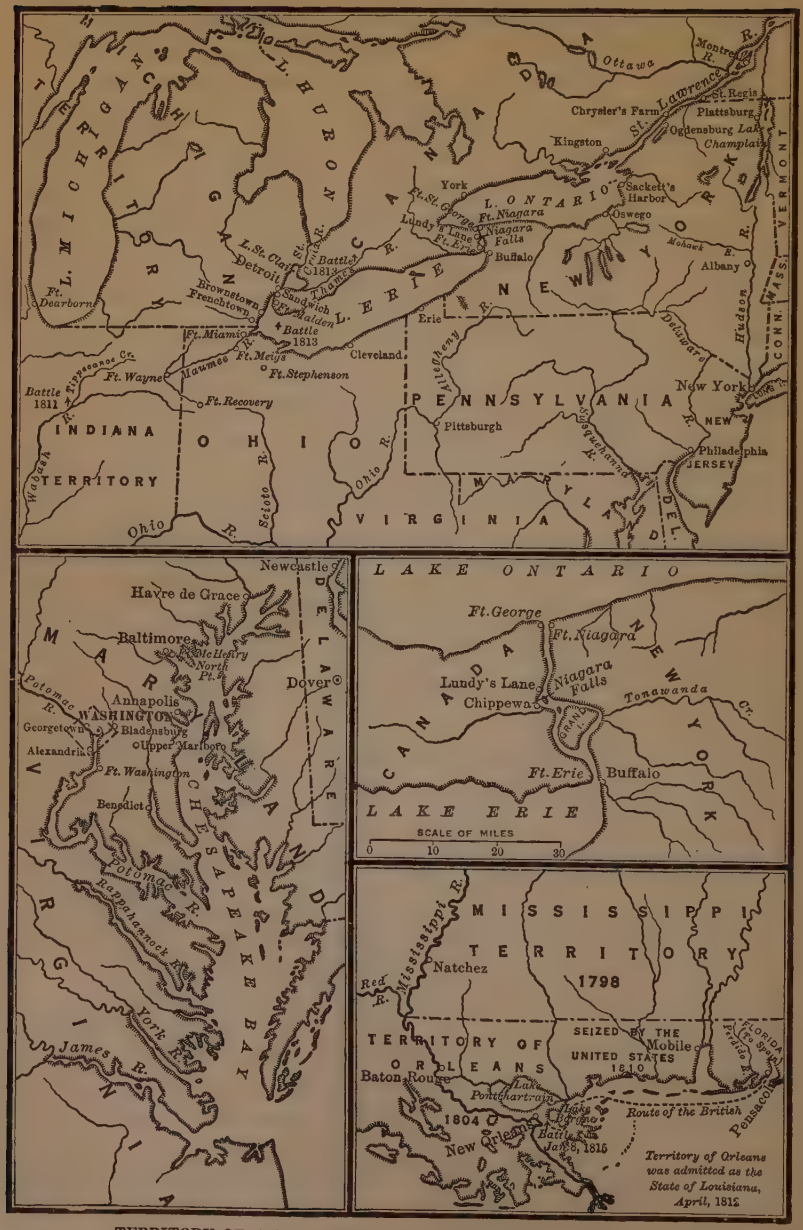
sent to the Chesapeake to attack Washington and Baltimore. Fourth, an expedition was planned against New Orleans to give the British possession of Louisiana and control of the Indian lands of the Northwest.

McDonough's Victory on Lake Champlain. In September a British force under General Prevost advanced from Canada to the southern end of Lake Champlain, and a British fleet under Commodore Downie was expected to control the lake. Captain Thomas McDonough was waiting with an American fleet and General McComb was stationed at Plattsburg with a force of 2,000 to resist the advance of the British. The battle on the lake occurred September 11, 1814. After two hours' fighting, McDonough's flagship, the *Saratoga,* was disabled but he turned the vessel around under the enemy's fire and continued to fight. In thirty minutes more the British struck their colors. The land battle did not occur. Both sides watched the water fight and after McDonough's brilliant victory Prevost's men retreated into Canada pursued by the Americans.

Attacks on Washington and Baltimore. During the same year the blockade of the coast was maintained with vigor and the attack was made on the Chesapeake Bay cities. A British army under General Ross advanced upon the defenseless capital August, 1814. The city of Washington was taken without difficulty and the British wantonly consigned to the flames many of its public buildings.[1]

General Ross then turned northward to Baltimore, where he determined to spend the winter, "if it rained militia"; but the fate of Washington had taught Balti-

[1]Mrs. Madison was careful to take with her the original draft of the Declaration of Independence and a famous picture of Washington. The English contended that this destruction of property was in retaliation for the burning of York (now Toronto) by the Americans.



TERRITORY OF ACTIVE OPERATIONS IN THE WAR OF 1812

more a lesson and the city was prepared to resist. The British army was defeated in a battle at North Point and Ross himself was killed. The British fleet tried to pass Ft. McHenry which guarded the approach to Baltimore, and bombarded the fort far into the night, but the American guns did deadly work and at dawn the Stars and Stripes still waved from the ramparts. On the night of the bombardment Francis Scott Key was detained on board one of the British ships. He watched the fight all night long. In the morning, when he saw the flag floating triumphantly in the breeze, he wrote the beautiful national hymn, *The Star-Spangled Banner.* The British abandoned the siege, but for several months plundering expeditions were sent out along the coast from Maine to Georgia.

Indian Troubles in the South. It was in the South that the last battle of the war was fought, but from the very outset of the struggle there were serious Indian troubles in this region. The Creeks had taken sides against the United States, being influenced by Tecumseh and by the British agents, who offered them five dollars apiece for the scalps of American men, women, and children. In August, 1813, there was a terrible massacre of two hundred and fifty whites at Fort Mims, not far from Mobile. The Tennessee militia under General Andrew Jackson set out for the Creek country to punish the savages. There was a bloody campaign of nearly seven months ending with the great battle of Horse Shoe Bend in eastern Alabama which completely broke the power of the Indians in the Southwest. Jackson forced these Indians to cede to the United States as an indemnity the greater part of their lands and to withdraw from the southern and western part of Alabama. After his successes against the Indians, Jack-

son was put in command of New Orleans and Mobile for defense against the British.

Battle of New Orleans. In the autumn of 1814 England sent out an expedition under General Pakenham to take New Orleans. So confident were the British that they brought along officials for the government of Louisiana. Jackson began to throw up earthworks below the city

BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS

and stood ready with 6,000 men to hold his position. Many of these men were raw militia who had left the plow to buckle on the sword but they were expert marksmen. Pakenham had 12,000 seasoned troops. There were several preliminary skirmishes, but at daybreak on the eighth of January, 1815, the real battle began. The slaughter of the British was frightful. One cannon of the Americans

filled with musket balls killed two hundred of the British at a single discharge. No army could resist such slaughter and soon the British fell back in disorder, leaving the brave Pakenham among the slain. The British lost over 2,000, the Americans only 71. "Old Hickory," as Jackson was called, became the idol of the West.

Peace of Ghent. If there had been such a thing as the telegraph or cable the battle of New Orleans would not have been fought. Two weeks before, on December 24, 1814, at Ghent, a city in Belgium, a treaty of peace was signed which was hardly more than an agreement to cease fighting. Nothing whatever was said about impressment, but it was hardly necessary, for our naval record during the war had settled that question by demonstrating our ability to resist such outrages as our seamen had suffered. From this time forward, the United States occupied a position of honor and respect among the nations of the world. The news of the peace and the victory at New Orleans reached the eastern states about the same time and there was universal rejoicing.

The Hartford Convention. From the first, New England was bitterly opposed to the war. Subscriptions to the war loans were very small in this section and Massachusetts and Connecticut refused to respond to the President's call for troops. As the war advanced and the coasts were blockaded and trade interrupted, this bitterness of feeling was intensified. At last in December, 1814, upon the call of the Massachusetts legislature, a convention of New England delegates met at Hartford, Connecticut. Several amendments to the Constitution were proposed safeguarding the interests of New England, and, although the proceedings were secret, the general understanding was that if these were not adopted the New England states would

secede from the Union and form a separate confederacy perhaps in connection with Canada. Commissioners were sent to Washington to lay the report of the convention before Congress, but reaching the city at a time of general rejoicing over peace and the victory at New Orleans, they immediately returned.

Manufactures and the Tariff. When the war closed in 1815, two years of Madison's term remained and during that time the country experienced a sharp revival of internal development and a new feeling of independence. Commerce flourished, farmers found markets for their crops, and wealth rapidly increased. The only exception to the general prosperity was among the manufactures that had come into existence in the middle states and New England during the embargo and war periods, when we were cut off from foreign trade. Our chief manufacturing industries were cotton and woolen goods and iron. With the return of peace, English goods were supplied in abundance and sold at prices with which our home manufacturers claimed they could not compete. Petition after petition was sent to Congress asking that duties be put on certain goods so as to protect the home manufacturers. The result was the tariff of 1816 which was our first protective tariff. The country generally tolerated the policy upon the idea that the need of protection would cease in a few years. But opposition soon developed on the ground that the people should not be taxed to sustain favored industries of a particular section.

Second United States Bank. The public debt was enormous as a result of the war of 1812, but the government was no longer in distress as revenue was now abundant. The charter of the United States bank, which had been established in 1791, expired in 1811, and for five years the

government had to resort to state banks as places of deposit. In 1816 Congress chartered a second bank after much the same plan as the first, except that the new institution paid the government one and one-half million dollars for its charter.

Internal Improvements. The slow movement of armies during the war and the difficulty in transporting supplies had shown the necessity for good roads. Now there was an active demand particularly in the middle and western states for internal improvements, by which was meant roads and canals on a big scale, in order to bring the produce of the West to the cities of the East. The Cumberland road, leading through Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia into the Ohio valley had already been partly completed by the federal government from the proceeds of the sales of Ohio lands. Many bills for internal improvements passed Congress, but Madison vetoed them because he thought that the federal government was without power to make such expenditures, and that this burden rested upon the separate states.

Erie Canal. The states themselves were doing much in this respect and within the next few years they completed many short roads and canals. The greatest of these enterprises was the Erie Canal, three hundred and sixty-three miles long, connecting the Hudson River and Lake Erie. The state of New York despairing of federal aid in 1817 set about building this canal herself, and in eight years it was completed at a cost of about $7,000,000. At the beginning of the canal its opponents in derision called it Clinton's "Big Ditch" because Governor Clinton so strongly supported it. But when the vast traffic of the Northwest began to pour in a steady volume into New York City and the greater facility of transportation cut

freight rates sometimes to as much as one-thirtieth, the "Big Ditch" became popular. Despite the reduction in rates the canal paid for itself in tolls in nine years. From this time the city of New York became the metropolis of the country and rapidly developed into one of the great commercial centers of the world.

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

1. What famous papers were partly the work of Madison's pen?
2. Why was the war unpopular in New England?
3. Were the British justified in burning the buildings at Washington?
4. In 1815 how long did it take news to travel from Europe to America?
5. What was the greatest benefit the United States derived from the War of 1812?
6. What had been the leading occupation of New England up to this time?
7. How did the tariff of 1816 differ from the first tariff law?
8. If natural waterways were used, what would be the chief market for western produce?
9. Why were the middle western states strongly in favor of internal improvements?
10. What states had access to the sea through their own rivers without crossing state lines?

CHAPTER XV

THE NEW WEST AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

JAMES MONROE, President, 1817-1825
DANIEL D. TOMPKINS, Vice President, 1817-1825
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, President, 1825-1829
JOHN C. CALHOUN, Vice President, 1825-1833

The New Administration. The Federalist party had become so weak that in the Presidential election of 1816, its candidate, Rufus King, the last Federalist named for President, received only thirty-four of the two hundred and seventeen electoral votes, and James Monroe, a Democrat, was elected.[1] Monroe was the fourth Virginian to be President and the last of the Revolutionary Fathers to hold that office. He called a number of men of the younger generation to serve in his cabinet. John Quincy Adams, the son of

JAMES MONROE

[1]James Monroe was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, in 1758. A student at William and Mary College when the Revolutionary War began, he left school to enter the army. He was a captain at the battle of Trenton, and served with distinction in the principal engagements of 1777-1778. Monroe studied law under Jefferson and there was always a strong affection between the two men. He was in public life from the formation of the government almost to the time of his death. Before his election to the presidency he had served as governor of Virginia, minister to France in 1802, when he aided in the purchase of Louisiana, minister to England, and Secretary of State under Madison. Monroe died July 4, 1831.

the second President, was Secretary of State; John C. Calhoun was Secretary of War; and William H. Crawford of Georgia was Secretary of the Treasury. Henry Clay still held the leadership in Congress. In the summer of 1817 the President made a tour of the northern and New England states, which had been the seat of so much discontent during the War of 1812. When he appeared in his Revolutionary uniform great crowds gathered to pay honor to the veteran who had fought with Washington.

JOHN C. CALHOUN

Treaty with Great Britain. In 1817, by what is known as the Rush-Bagot convention, Great Britain and the United States agreed to practical disarmament on the lakes. The two countries have continued this policy along the whole northern boundary as it has been marked out, so that for over a hundred years a 3,000-mile frontier has been maintained without a fort or a battleship. A treaty, made the following year, adjusted the points left unsettled in the peace of Ghent as follows: The boundary between the Louisiana Purchase and Canada was fixed at the forty-ninth parallel; commercial agreements were arranged; the right to fish off the Grand Banks was secured; and Oregon, which then extended as far north as 54 degrees, 40 minutes latitude and which both powers claimed, was to be occupied jointly for ten years by the citizens of the United States and of Great Britain. Our claim to this region was based on the discovery of Gray and the explorations of Lewis and Clark. Great Britain claimed the Oregon country by

virtue of the early discovery of Alexander Mackenzie and the occupation of this territory by the Hudson Bay Company.

Purchase of Florida. In 1818 Florida was added to the territory of the United States. Hostile Indians, runaway slaves, and outlaws had sought a refuge in the Florida peninsula and were a constant source of trouble to the people of Alabama and Georgia. Here were the haunts of the Seminole Indians who kept up a merciless frontier warfare, and Spain did nothing to keep the peace. General Andrew Jackson was sent in 1818 to check the marauders. Once in the field against the red men, Jackson did not stop until he had chased them far into Florida. He attacked the Spanish whom he suspected of aiding and abetting the Indians and arrested and executed two English subjects, Ambrister and Arbuthnot, for the same offense. This warlike advance into her territory occurred while we were negotiating with Spain for the purchase of Florida and the administration feared it would defeat its purpose. But Spain's colonies of Mexico and South America were in a state of revolt, and realizing that she could not hold Florida, she sold it to us for $5,000,000. At the same time the boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, which had been in constant dispute, was defined. The United States agreed to accept the Sabine, the Red, and the Arkansas rivers in a northwesterly direction; from the last named river to the forty-second parallel and thence along that line to the Pacific. By accepting this boundary we surrendered all claim to Texas which up to this time we had regarded as a part of the Louisiana Purchase.

The New West. The hard times in the East during the embargo and the war and a bank panic in 1819 had driven many people westward where land was plentiful and

cheap. Wild land sold for two dollars an acre, and frequently settlers or squatters took it for nothing. So the roads to the West streamed with white-hooded wagons; flat-boats, rafts, and sometimes a steamer or two moved up the western rivers carrying settlers to this new land of wealth and opportunity.

Jackson's victories over the Indians in the Southwest had opened much new cotton land for settlement at a time when the gin had come into general use and the close of the European wars made possible greatly increased manufactures of this staple. Many Southerners had emigrated westward, settling on both sides of the Ohio and beyond the Mississippi in Missouri. Thus, the plantations and slavery of the old South were extended into a greater South. Later, after the opening of the Erie canal, settlers from New England and the Middle States moved into northern Indiana and Illinois. The pork, beef, and grain of the upper Mississippi supplied the lower valley and the states of the old South, where cotton and sugar cultivation were extended over wider and wider areas.

New States: The Missouri Question. Quickly following the War of 1812 state after state was carved out of the western territory. While Madison was President, Louisiana (1812) and Indiana (1816) were admitted to the Union, and five other states entered during the Presidency of Monroe. The first three, Mississippi (1817), Illinois (1818), and Alabama (1819), were admitted without opposition, but when Missouri with a state constitution guaranteeing the right to hold slaves asked for admission, there was an ominous outbreak of sectional feeling. Missouri was settled largely by Kentuckians and Tennesseans who moved across the river carrying their slaves with them. Northern statesmen fiercely resisted the ad-

mission of Missouri as a slave state and the Southern statesmen as fiercely fought the exclusion of slavery from that state.

Balance of Power Between the Sections. To understand the controversy over Missouri we must bear in mind the attitude of the sections toward each other. The struggle was not simply a matter of right and wrong or of different industrial and social systems; it was also a question of political power between the North and the South. From the first the sections had been distinct. In colonial days the Puritan had dominated the one, while the Cavalier had directed the other. We have noted the jealousies between the sections in the formation of the federal union. The South had opposed, while the North had approved Hamilton's financial plans. During the long period of troublesome controversies with the warring powers of Europe, though both sections usually supported the President in matters of national honor, the agricultural and Democratic South rather sympathized with France, while the commercial and Federalist North manifestly preferred England. Though most of the Louisiana Purchase lay in the North, New England opposed the acquisition because she saw that the territory would be agricultural and she feared that in sympathy with the South it would antagonize her commercial interests.

The people of the South had moved westward, and as a consequence the North had outstripped it in population and had a majority in the House of Representatives and control of legislation in that body. The South realized that she must retain her strength in the Senate in order to prevent legislation hostile to her interests. The West then held the balance of power between the sections. Politically this new region generally stood with the South.

This was due to the fact that the greater part of the people were of Southern descent and the further fact that the chief market thus far for western produce was the cotton states of the South. The West, however, ardently supported the American system, as the policy of protective tariff and internal improvements at federal expense was called. Protection would give a home market to the hemp, hides, and wool now grown in the West and would build up the manufacturing cities of the East which would cause an increased demand for western foodstuffs. Good roads and canals meant a reduction in freight rates and a greater profit to the producer. Leaders of the North feared the perpetuation of Southern ascendency if slavery was extended to the West. Leaders of the South sought through the new states of the West to maintain a balance in the Senate.

Growth of Slavery. To understand further why the admission of Missouri to the Union as a slave state caused such sharp sectional antagonism, we must recall something of the growth of slavery in the United States. In the admission of states up to 1820 the slavery issue had not arisen, because by the Ordinance of 1787 slavery was prohibited in all states carved out of the Northwest Territory. Indiana and Illinois, however, had petitioned Congress to repeal this Ordinance. No such restriction was placed upon the states organized south of the Ohio River. Circumstances were such that in the admission of states up to this time, the balance of power was preserved, for free states and slave states had been admitted alternately. At the formation of the Union slavery had existed in practically all the states. The Constitution recognized slavery as a domestic institution and provided that the slave trade was not to be forbidden until 1808, in which

year a law was passed to that effect. The Constitution provided likewise for the passage of a fugitive slave law by which runaway slaves should be returned to their masters, and in 1793 Congress enacted such a law. However, there had been considerable agitation against slavery on moral grounds, and many leaders, North and South, looked forward to the gradual disappearance of the institution. By 1820 it had ceased to exist or was in process of extinction in the states north of Mason and Dixon's line where the climate was unfavorable and where slave labor was not profitable in the factories of the cities.

The Cotton Gin and Slavery. But after the invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney, slavery became more prof-

A MODERN COTTON GIN PLANT

itable than ever in the cotton fields of the lower South; it solved the labor problem, which in a new land is always vexatious. As the cotton crop increased from hundreds to hundreds of thousands of bales, and the cotton mills of Old England, and New England as well, looked to the fleecy fields of the South for their supply, it was not strange that slavery became more firmly established in

the South. Nevertheless, a great many prominent men in the South regretted the existence of slavery and would have been glad to see some way to end it. Complete and immediate abolition would have meant danger and financial ruin to the Southern whites on the one hand, and on the other, suffering and privation to the negroes. Plans of gradual emancipation were considered and as negroes showed themselves capable of self-support masters very often set them free. But there was a great deal of opposition to this because it was generally felt in the North as well as in the South that free negroes were an undesirable element in the population. In 1816 the American Colonization Society was established for the purpose of taking free negroes to the republic of Liberia in Africa where they were encouraged to maintain and govern themselves. It was thought that men would be more willing to free their slaves if there were some means of settling them out of the country. Between 1830 and 1850 this society sent seven thousand negroes to Liberia, about twenty-five hundred from Virginia alone.

Meanwhile Southern leaders believed that the best way to deal with slavery so as to prevent the slaves from becoming too numerous in the older states of the South, was to encourage a movement of the negroes into the West. In this manner they would be scattered over a wider territory, and the evils of the system would be lessened. The North, fearing Southern control in the West, contested the right of holding slaves in the territory west of the Mississippi. The South, on the contrary, contended that the broad fertile valleys of the western water courses should be as free to her emigrants as to those from the North. The struggle between the two sections over

Missouri intensified sectional bitterness, and threats of disunion were freely made from both sides.

Missouri Compromise. At length, largely through the influence of Henry Clay, who became known as the "Great Pacificator," the dispute over slavery in Missouri was compromised. In 1820, Maine, which had been a part of Massachusetts, applied for admission as a free state, and the two states of Maine and Missouri were now admitted in one bill, the former to be a free state, and the latter a slave state. But while Missouri was admitted

FREE AND SLAVE TERRITORY AS FIXED BY MISSOURI COMPROMISE

with slavery, it was agreed that all states afterwards carved out of the Louisiana Purchase north of the line thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes, the Southern boundary of Missouri, should be free states. The Missouri Compromise settled the territorial feature of the slavery problem for nearly thirty years, but the bitterness engendered between the sections during the controversy survived and increased until it culminated in the War Between the States.

Monroe Doctrine. Hardly had the Missouri Compromise been accomplished before the American people faced another vital question. This was the independence of the republics of the New World. Spain's colonies in Mexico and South America had revolted and had set up republican governments which Spain was too weak to subdue. Russia, Prussia, Austria and France banded themselves together into a league, known as the "Holy Alliance," for the purpose of upholding the rights of the monarchies of the Old World, and it was believed that this alliance was willing to assist Spain in recovering her American colonies. The likelihood was, however, that these colonies, if subjugated, would not be restored to Spain, but would be divided among the nations of the Holy Alliance. Russia already claimed Alaska through the discovery of Vitus Behring in 1741, and, if she should gain more territory on the North American continent, she would be a distinct menace to our safety. The United States boldly opposed the policy of the Holy Alliance, and, in 1822, acknowledged the independence of the new American republics to the south. In 1823 Monroe announced that the United States had no intention of interfering with any European colony already established in America, but that any attempt on the part of the nations of Europe to establish other colonies on this continent would be regarded by the United States as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward us. The President's declaration had the desired effect, for the plans of the Holy Alliance, whatever they were, were abandoned. The policy declared in this instance is known as the Monroe Doctrine, and has since been recognized throughout the world as a fixed principle in American diplomacy. In 1824 Russia agreed to a treaty by which the southern boundary of Alaska was to be fifty-

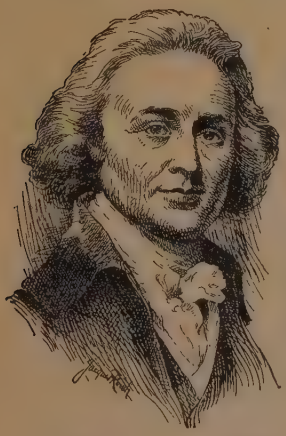
four degrees and forty minutes, and by which the fisheries of the Pacific were open to the United States.

Lafayette's Visit. Lafayette, upon the invitation of the United States, visited the country in 1824 for the first time since the close of the Revolutionary War. Everywhere he went, he was hailed with the greatest enthusiasm. The whole people gave themselves up to a holiday, and processions and fetes of all kinds were arranged for his pleasure. At length, after a stay of over a year, he returned to France on the new United States frigate *Brandywine,* which had been named in his honor because that battle was his first engagement in the Revolutionary War. As a token of the affection and esteem of a grateful people Congress presented him with $200,000 in money and a township of public land in Florida.

Beginning of New Parties. Monroe had been re-elected in 1820. The Federalists did not even name an opposing candidate, and the election lacked only one vote of being unanimous. Washington alone of our Presidents enjoys the distinction of having been unanimously elected. The comparative absence of strife between the parties of this time caused Monroe's administration to be called the "Era of Good Feeling," but the good feeling was only surface deep, and before the close of Monroe's second term, contrary groups were forming within the Democratic party. One wing of the party, which became known as the National Republicans, later as the Whigs, believed in a high protective tariff, internal improvements at federal expense, and a United States bank. The other wing of the party, the Democrats proper or the Democratic Republicans, as they were officially called, remained true to the ideas of Jefferson. They believed in a tariff for revenue, contending that internal improvements should be

made at state expense, and resisted the United States bank as an unconstitutional enterprise. These measures constituted the chief points of political controversy for the next twenty years.

Election of Adams. The Presidential election of 1824 was a trial of strength between the factions within the Democratic party. There were many candidates in the field: John Quincy Adams, Monroe's Secretary of State, and Henry Clay, representing the National Republicans; William H. Crawford and Andrew Jackson, representing the Democrats. Calhoun was the only candidate for Vice President. Jackson received the greatest number of electoral votes, but no candidate had a majority. The Constitution provides that in such a situation, the election shall be determined by the House of Representatives from the three candidates having the greatest number of electoral votes. In the contest in the House, Clay's friends supported Adams,[1] who, to the bitter disappointment of Jackson and his friends, was chosen President.



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

[1]John Quincy Adams was born in Massachusetts in 1767. At the age of fourteen he served as secretary to the American minister to Russia. He was his father's secretary in 1783, when the Peace of Paris was negotiated. In 1788 he was graduated at Harvard College, and shortly afterward began the practice of law. At different times he was minister to Holland, Prussia, Russia, and England. In 1807 he supported Jefferson's Embargo, and thus broke with the Federalist party. He was one of the Peace Commissioners at Ghent. After the expiration of his presidential term, he was elected, in 1830, to the House of Representatives, and served in that body for seventeen years. He died in the Capitol at Washington in 1848.

Opposition to Adams. The new President had been in public life from his youth, and no man could have received better training for the duties of this high office, but, like his father, John Adams, he was cold and unbending and made few friends. Adams was very much interested in our Spanish-American neighbors. A Pan-American Congress was held in Panama in 1826 to consult on the common interests of the American republics, and the President urged that we send delegates, but Congress did not approve the idea and delayed matters so long that when the commissioners were finally sent they arrived too late to participate. Adams was in favor of internal improvements at federal expense, but Congress voted very little for this purpose in comparison with what was needed for the development of transportation in the states of the East and of the West.

Tariff Strife. Political excitement over the tariff reached a high pitch in the latter part of Adams' administration. Northern manufacturers ascribed the panic of 1819 to the low duties of the tariff of 1816 which they contended was not sufficient to protect them from foreign competition and they clamored for higher duties. The South was opposed to the protective tariff because she felt that it operated as a hardship on her agricultural industries for the benefit of the commercial North. In 1824 the Northern faction succeeded in passing a new tariff with higher duties, but some of the manufacturers were not satisfied and continued to plead for more protection until the tariff of 1828 was framed. The opponents of the bill, hoping to kill it, offered all kinds of amendments, but the bill, amendments and all, passed, and on account of its high rate of duties it became known as the "tariff of abominations." Many protests against the Act were sent to Con-

gress and four Southern legislatures, among them that of South Carolina, passed resolutions of opposition.

Election of Jackson. The tariff agitation was quieted for a time by the approach of another Presidential election. Adams was hardly elected to the Presidency before the Jackson men, who indignantly claimed that the will of the people had been thwarted, put forward their hero and began to work on the next campaign. The National Republicans again supported Adams. Jackson was elected President and John C. Calhoun was re-elected Vice President. Jackson's rugged honesty and his great fame as a soldier inspired the country with the hope of a vigorous and successful administration.

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

1. What was the effect of the War of 1812 on the Federalist party?
2. Was Jackson justified in invading Florida?
3. Who owned Texas in 1819?
4. What had kept the slavery question out of Congress until 1819?
5. Name the states of the Union at this time.
6. Did both sides accept the Missouri Compromise as a permanent settlement of the slavery question so far as Congress was concerned?
7. What states had slavery in 1820?
8. What two great men died July 4, 1826?
9. What is the benefit of the Monroe Doctrine to the other American Republics?
10. How did the Erie Canal bring social and political changes to the West?

SUGGESTED READINGS

Fiske, *The Critical Period*
McLaughlin, *Confederation and Constitution*
Bassett, *The Federalist System*
Channing, *The Jeffersonian System*
Babcock, *The Rise of American Nationality*
Turner, *The New West*
Thwaites, *Rocky Mountain Explorations*
Hart, *Formation of the Union*
Biographies, *Jefferson, Hamilton, Madison, Monroe*
Holmes, *Ode for Washington's Birthday*
Cooke, *Leather Stocking and Silk*
Cooper, *Pioneers*
Brady, *Stephen Decatur*
Dana, *Two Years Beforn the Mast*
Guerber, *Story of the Great Republic*
Harris, *Georgia Stories*
Hart, *Source Readers*

PERIOD V.—SECOND GENERATION OF STATESMAN

1829-1850

CHAPTER XVI

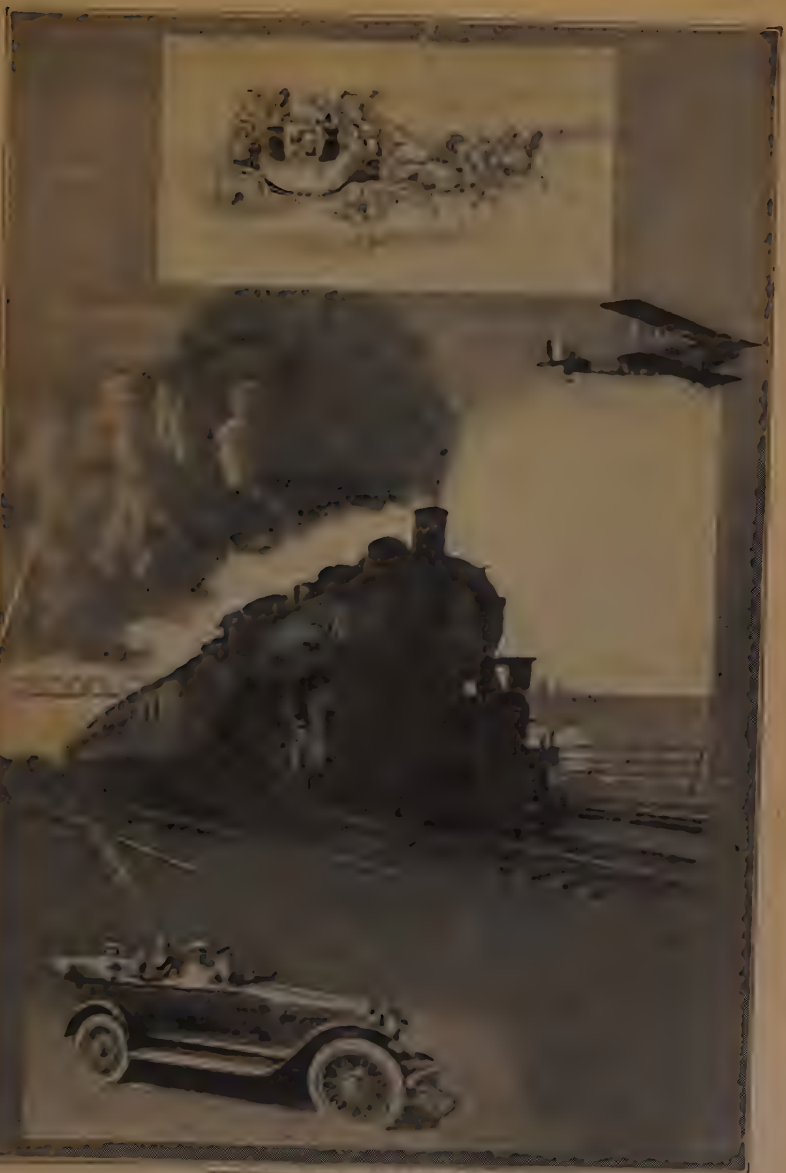
GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

Population. The United States over which Jackson was called to preside was vastly different from the group of straggling states that had hailed Washington as President in 1789. Many new forces had combined to make a period of marvelous growth. Not the least of these factors was the development of the West, which was contesting with the North and the South for the leadership. The population had increased from about four millions in 1790 to nearly thirteen millions in 1830, and in the next few decades it nearly doubled. The great majority of the people were of English descent, but German and Irish immigrants were arriving in considerable numbers, the greater part of them settling in the North and West. New York ranked first among the states in population, Pennsylvania second, Virginia third. The population of the new states was growing by leaps and bounds. Although the Americans were still a rural people the cities were growing faster than ever before. New York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia ranked in the order named as our largest cities. Boston held fourth place. Charleston was still an important commercial point on the southern seaboard; and New Orleans, the market of the Mississippi valley, was the chief city of the lower South. The towns of the West and the Southwest were giving promise of

growth, though many of them were still scarcely more than villages. Augusta, in Georgia, was an important point; Chicago and Milwaukee were merging from fur-trading stations in the Indian country into typical western towns. Pittsburg, no longer the "Gateway of the West," was growing into a great manufacturing center, and, with the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, Buffalo and Detroit rose to prominence.

Means of Transportation. Although there had developed a new feeling of unity as a consequence of the second war with Great Britain, the country even yet consisted of three well-marked and rather isolated sections; the commercial and manufacturing North; the cotton and tobacco exporting South; and the corn growing and cattle raising West. In a country as large as ours, easy means of communication and transportation are essential to unity. Before 1830 travel was almost as uncomfortable and inconvenient as in colonial days. The lumbering stage coaches and Conestoga wagons and the mail riders still made their journeys over the rough and muddy highways; in the far West there were trails and "girdled roads" such as there were in the East in colonial times. However, there were some good roads within the states and the Cumberland road extended across the mountains into the West. Some of the roads were macadamized or otherwise improved, the cost of road building ranging from five hundred dollars to several thousand dollars a mile. Tolls were charged on nearly all the roads in order to pay for their maintenance.

There was one great improvement, the steamboat. River steamers became a great factor in transportation and before many years there were regular steamer lines connecting our ports with those of Europe. The early steamboats had a large side-wheel, but this was replaced by the screw



PROGRESS IN TRANSPORTATION

propeller, an invention of John Ericsson's. This was a great advantage because it was below the water and caused steam vessels to supplant sailing vessels in the commerce and the navies of the world. Transportation by water was cheaper and easier and much quicker than by land. The building of the Erie Canal and its influence on the development of New York City has already been noted. Between 1830 and 1840 many other canals were constructed in all parts of the country, some of which are in use at the present time.

Railroads. Canals were soon superseded by railroads. The cost of laying a railway track was much less than that of digging a canal and as it defied rain and ice it could be used throughout the year. The first railroads consisted of wooden or iron rails over which cars were drawn by horses at a speed of five or six miles an hour. All of the coast cities, especially Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Charleston, wished to have a portion of the western trade which now seemed likely to go to New York by way of the Erie Canal, and these cities early became interested in railroad building. The Baltimore and Ohio road was started in 1827, but not until 1830 did it open its fourteen miles of track for the transportation of freight and passengers. George Stephenson, an Englishman, in 1829 perfected a locomotive called "The Rocket" which moved at a much more rapid rate than cars drawn by horses. The most of our engines were at first imported from England, but it was not long until American inventors were making better engines than the English models. In 1830 a locomotive, designed and built by Peter Cooper, an American engineer, made a successful trip on the Baltimore and Ohio. The first locomotives that would travel successfully on curves were built by Americans. At first the cars were

merely stage coaches drawn by steam but with each succeeding year the comfort and speed of travel improved. Railroads were built from all the leading cities to the neighboring towns. A line from Charleston, South Carolina, northwest to Augusta, one hundred and thirty-seven miles in length, was in 1834 the longest railroad under one management in the world. The continuity of the railroads was broken by the rivers, for this was before the day of our great iron bridges, and ferry boats had to be used. The early railroads were built principally by private capital, although in some cases there was aid from the state governments. In 1830 there were only twenty-three miles of railroad in operation in the United States, but by 1850 there were about 9,000 miles and ten years later there were more than 30,000 miles. Short lines were consolidated into trunk lines and the means of transportation increased to such an extent that it was easier to cross the entire country than it was in Washington's time to cross a single state. Railroad development was at first slow in the West because of the good water communication southward by the Mississippi and to the North and East by the lakes and the Erie Canal. But by the fifties a network of railroads was built which served to bind the states of the West closer to the North. The South exported the most of its cotton to England and had good water communications with the West whence a large portion of its foodstuffs came, so railroad building was slow in this section.

The Telegraph. During the period of growth from 1830 to 1850, another device for shortening time and space was invented. This was the electric telegraph which was given to the world by the genius of Samuel F. B. Morse. As early as 1832, Morse had installed a crude telegraphic

apparatus and made a public exhibition of his invention at New York. Not having any means to construct a regular telegraph line, he appealed to Congress for aid, and after patiently waiting he finally obtained, in 1843, an appropriation of $30,000 to build an experimental line from Washington to Baltimore. This was the first telegraph line in the world. Upon its completion, the first formal message transmitted on May 24, 1844, was "What hath God wrought." Before many years the telegraph, as well as the railroads, connected all important cities.

S. F. B. MORSE

Other Inventions and Discoveries. In the development of the United States the labor problem has been as serious as the problem of easy communication, and the inventive ingenuity of the American has fashioned many labor-saving devices which have completely revolutionized the industrial world. As early as 1790 Congress had provided for the granting of patents by which inventors could enjoy the profits of their work. In Revolutionary days spinning and weaving machinery was introduced, and in New England, after the War of 1812, cotton and woolen mills began to do the work of the home and the small shop. A great advance was made in the manufacture of iron goods, particularly after the discovery that coal could be used in foundries. There were many improved implements for use in agriculture and this branch of industry grew rapidly.

Before 1825 the farmer cut his wheat with the sickle or scythe, and threshed it on the floor. Cyrus H. McCormick, in 1834, invented a reaping machine, and soon binders, mowers, and threshing machines came into use; plows were improved and farming was made easy and more profitable. McCormick's invention was as great a factor in the development of the West as was the cotton gin in the South. A rotary cylinder printing-press was invented by Richard M. Hoe in 1846, and this improvement greatly promoted the publishing of newspapers. In 1846 Elias Howe invented the sewing machine which not only lightened the work of women in the home but also reduced the cost of manufacturing clothing and shoes. Charles Goodyear about the same time discovered a process by which India rubber could be converted into the commercial uses with which we are now familiar. A revolving pistol was patented by Colt in 1835, and other improvements in firearms followed. The old candlelight of other days was supplanted by the coal oil lamp and by illuminating gas; about 1836 the friction match abolished the clumsy tinder box and flint. Daguerre, a Frenchman, discovered a method of taking pictures, and this process was also patented in the United States.

Education. The Americans of this period made progress in public education also. There were public schools in many of the older states and in the new states of the West a part of the public domain had been set aside for education. In all parts of the country there were private schools and academies for girls and boys. The half dozen colleges in existence in colonial days had grown to more than sixty, about half of which were in the South. Many state universities had been established, those of North Carolina and Georgia being the first. In the latter state was estab-

lished the first free high school in the country. There were a number of professional schools; in some states there were normal schools for the training of teachers, and schools of law, medicine and theology. The first medical college was a part of the University of Pennsylvania and the second was that attached to Transylvania University at Lexington, Kentucky. In connection with this latter

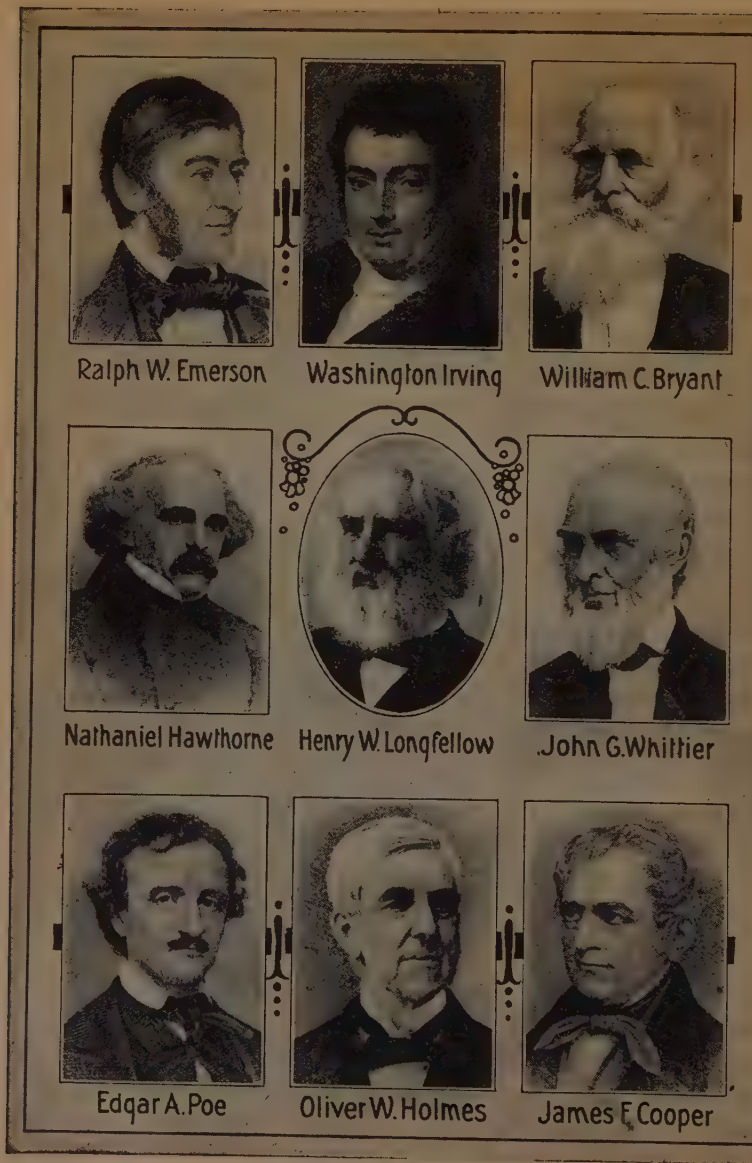
WESLEYAN COLLEGE, THE FIRST COLLEGE IN THE WORLD TO CONFER A DEGREE UPON A WOMAN

university was founded the first public library in the West. Oberlin College in Ohio was the first co-educational institution and Wesleyan College at Macon, Georgia, which had its beginning in 1830, was the first college in the world to confer degrees upon women. The first woman to receive a college degree was Miss Katherine Brewer of Macon, Georgia, who later became Mrs. Richard A. Ben-

son, the mother of Admiral W. S. Benson of the United States Navy. The United States Military Academy had been established in 1802; the Naval Academy was established in 1846. In 1846 the Smithsonian Institution was founded by act of Congress in accordance with the will of James Smithson, an Englishman, who bequeathed an estate valued at more than $500,000 to the United States, to be devoted to the increase and diffusion of knowledge.

Newspapers and Magazines. As a result of the improved printing-press many newspapers and magazines were published, which before many years were within the reach of the humblest citizens. The federal government, recognizing the educational value of newspapers and other periodicals, reduced the postage on them in order that they might be easily accessible to the people residing in remote districts. In 1839 parcels were carried regularly by a private company from Boston to New York and out of this little enterprise grew the great express companies of today. In 1847 adhesive stamps were first used for postage.

Early American Literature. Until 1830 America had produced few good writers of lighter literature. The aim of most of our early writers was not to please but to convince. They were authors of great constitutional papers, some of which, like the Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution, are reckoned among the ablest documents of the world. The Americans were given to oratory and they excelled in this kind of literature. We remember how in Revolutionary days James Otis and Patrick Henry thrilled their hearers with marvelous eloquence. American oratory reached a still higher stage in the period of constitutional debate when great lawyers were guiding the ship of state through troubled waters. That period developed the persuasive powers of Henry



GREAT AMERICAN WRITERS

Clay, the splendid eloquence of Daniel Webster, and the clear and forcible logic of John C. Calhoun.

Great American Writers. Washington Irving was our first conspicuous writer of lighter literature. His delightful sketch of *Rip Van Winkle* and the inimitable *Ichabod Crane* are familiar to school children. James Fenimore Cooper was our first well-known novelist, and his romances reflect the life of the frontier and of the sea. Irving and Cooper were both natives and residents of New York. Other novelists of note at this time were William Gilmore Simms, of South Carolina, who wrote thrilling tales of Marion and Sumter and their raids in the Carolina swamps, and John Pendleton Kennedy, of Maryland, whose best-known story is *Horseshoe Robinson,* a tale of Tory ascendency in South Carolina. Our first distinctively American poet was William Cullen Bryant, another son of New York. His greatest poem, *Thanatopsis,* was written when he was only seventeen years old. *Lines to a Water Fowl* and the *Death of the Flowers* are poems of simple beauty that appeal to the child reader. Edgar Allan Poe, one of the greatest of all American writers, belongs to the South. The beautiful rhythmic lines of *The Raven* and *Annabel Lee* and his weird prose tales have ranked him among the world's great writers. John Greenleaf Whittier, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and James Russell Lowell, all New Englanders, were poets of the period from 1830 to 1860. Whittier's *Snowbound,* a beautiful picture of a New England winter, and Longfellow's *Evangeline,* a story of the dispersal of the Acadians, furnish selections for many school readers. James Russell Lowell was the first of our poets to utilize the Yankee dialect for humor. *Grandmother's Story* of the battle of Bunker Hill was from the

pen of Oliver Wendell Holmes, the genial poet-physician; another poem by this author is *Old Ironsides,* written in 1830, when it was proposed to destroy the famous ship, *Constitution,* the winner of so many victories in the War of 1812. Owing to the popular interest aroused by this poem, the vessel was preserved. In 1828 Noah Webster's dictionary, the first of the Great American dictionaries, was published. Two other writers of New England were Ralph Waldo Emerson, the poet, essayist, and philosopher, and Nathaniel Hawthorne, perhaps the best known of American novelists. His beautiful and powerful novel, *The Scarlet Letter,* is among the greatest of American compositions in fiction, but to the young readers this son of the Puritans is best known by his *Tanglewood Tales* and his *Twice-Told Tales.* There were American historians, too, among them Prescott, Bancroft, and Parkman, who, through their valuable works, made the dead days of our own history live again.

Science. America had made a brilliant beginning in science. In the years before 1860 the works of such men as Louis Agassiz, J. D. Dana, and Asa Gray were adding to the knowledge of the minerals and animal and plant life in America. Matthew Fontaine Maury, the "Pathfinder of the Seas," was the first to make a chart of the winds and currents and to urge upon the government the importance of making weather forecasts, for which work he did much to prepare. The work of S. F. B. Morse has already been mentioned, and the name of John James Audubon is familiar to every lover of birds. In 1842 Doctor Crawford Long of Georgia introduced ether in surgical operations, and Dr. Morton, a Boston physician, made a public demonstration of its effect in 1846.

Churches and Religious Societies. The churches of

America were a great factor in the social and intellectual, as well as in the religious life of the people. The Congregational, the Episcopal, and the Presbyterian churches were the strongest denominations in New England and the older southern states. The Methodist and Baptist churches developed rapidly in the West, and later in the South. The Catholic church increased in numbers and received many accessions from the Irish immigrants who were coming into the country. The Unitarians, an offshoot from the Congregational Church, had sprung up in New England. Sunday schools were established, and missions, both foreign and domestic, were maintained. By 1850 several of the great Protestant churches had divided on account of the slavery controversy into Northern and Southern organizations. It was a great time, also, for the forming of other religious societies, the two most conspicuous of which were the Shakers and the Mormons. The Shakers, so called from certain rhythmical motions of the body in some of their religious exercises, were founded during the Revolution, and in 1826 numbered five thousand in their communities. The Mormons, founded by Joseph Smith, in 1830, at Manchester, Vermont, held to doctrines and practices which caused them to be driven from place to place. Finally, in 1846, they settled in the far western wilderness and this has been their central location since that time.

Reforms. A more merciful spirit developed with the advancement of education and religion. Punishment for crime became less cruel. The whipping-post, the pillory, and the stocks were abandoned. The prisons which had been dungeons or abandoned mines were made more comfortable and more cleanly. The establishment of public asylums for the insane was largely the work of Dorthea

Dix. Homes were established for the orphans, hospitals were built, and poorhouses were better kept. The laws of imprisonment for debt were repealed. A movement against the use of intoxicating liquors was inaugurated as early as 1817, and by 1830 a number of Washingtonian, or temperance, societies had been formed. So strong did the movement become that in 1850 the state of Maine adopted state-wide prohibition. The woman's rights movement was started about 1830. Among its early leaders were Frances Wright and Susan B. Anthony.

Slavery in the South. The southern leaders were striving to deal with the grave responsibility of slavery, which rested on their section, in a way to preserve the best interests of both races. Complete and immediate abolition they feared for the reason that it would thrust upon the people a large class of homeless and irresponsible persons, who in some portions of the South would be a menace to society. England and France had emancipated the slaves in all their colonies; and in the West Indies, where the blacks predominated, there were frequent and horrible uprisings. The South feared such a condition. But there were many anti-slavery societies in the South; the majority of those in the whole country until 1827 being in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. These organizations urged the gradual emancipation of the slaves with compensation to the owners, and masters often liberated their slaves without compensation. There were colonies of free negroes in the South, and the republic of Liberia, which has been previously mentioned, was designed as a state for emancipated negroes. In North Carolina alone over two thousand negroes were freed between 1824 and 1826. In Virginia, during the first half century after the Revolution, more slaves were voluntarily emancipated without

compensation to their masters than were freed in the whole North by law during the same period. There were in all between two and three hundred thousand free negroes in the South and only about one man in fifty was a slave-holder.

The slaves were better fed and better clothed than the laboring class of many other lands at that time; they were nursed in sickness and protected in old age. In many cases the negroes were taught to read and write and had the benefit of religious instruction. Public opinion bitterly condemned the master who allowed his slaves to be abused. When a slave was severely punished, it was usually for such offenses as the law now forbids, the master being called upon to act as a sort of magistrate to keep peace and order on his estate. The domestic slave trade was considered necessary for the distribution of slaves to the parts of the South where their labor was most needed; but the evil of separating families was avoided as much as possible. The devotion of the slaves to "Ole Marster" and "Ole Miss" and their pride in their "family" were always in evidence. The black boys and the white boys often grew up together on the plantations and were playmates and friends.

The Extreme Abolitionists. There had been some early movements in the North, particularly among the Quakers, for the abolition of slavery throughout the country, but, as a rule, the desire was for gradual emancipation. In the early thirties a radical and violent abolition movement developed, led by William Lloyd Garrison, a fierce and uncompromising zealot. The promoters of this movement called the slaveholders criminals and demanded the immediate and unconditional emancipation of the slaves without regard to its effect upon the South and without

compensation to the owners. They influenced public opinion by lectures, by individual persuasion and by the circulation of anti-slavery literature, a great part of which was sent to the South. All laws admitting the right of slavery they proclaimed to be null and void, and because slavery was recognized in the Constitution they denounced both the Union and the Constitution. They threatened secession from the Union because, under the Constitution, it meant the continuance of slavery. Later the abolitionists established routes for runaway slaves known as "underground railways," which were a series of friendly homes, about a night's journey apart, in which slaves were concealed and hurried from one to another until they were enabled to reach Canada.

The abolition societies flooded Congress with petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, in the territories, and in the states, regardless of the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which had settled the question in the territories, and contemptuous of the fact that Congress had no power over the domestic institutions in the states. The chief organ of the abolitionists was a paper called the *Liberator,* published by Garrison in Boston, and this, as well as other abolition publications of the times, was full of false representations of the wretched condition of the slaves and the cruelties of the masters. Much of this misrepresentation was due to ignorance, but it served to influence public opinion and to inflame many good people. Some of the abolitionists resorted to desperate devices to arouse the slaves against their masters, and thus directly encouraged insurrection. At first the abolitionists were few in number and there was a strong feeling against them in the North as well as in the South. Their meetings were often dispersed in the northern states

and their leaders arrested. Gradually, however, they gained adherents, and abolition became a passionate demand among an increasing number of people.

Dangers to the South. The southern people bitterly resented the attacks of the extreme abolitionists. In the first place, they objected to interference with their domestic affairs, owning slaves within the state being regarded as a matter that concerned the people of the state only. In the second place, the southern people felt that the North was as much responsible as they for the existence of slavery in this country. Once introduced, physical conditions in the South and the inevitable increase of the slaves fixed the system of servile labor on that region, and free, hired labor was driven out. The abolitionist literature that was circulated through the mails and otherwise not only slandered the southern slave owner, but it tended to produce serious trouble among the slaves. In confirmation of the apprehension of the southern people, there was, in 1831, a negro uprising in Virginia, led by Nat Turner, and before it could be subdued over sixty people, most of them women and children, were brutally murdered. The insurrection was not directly due to abolition, but many southerners believed that Garrison and his followers were responsible in large measure for this uprising. Our greatest public men, both North and South, appreciated the seriousness of the situation growing out of the slavery agitation, and there was a determined effort to quiet the contention. Much bitterness of feeling between the sections was created by the constant petitions sent to Congress by the abolitionists, and a rule was passed to table all such petitions.

The New Democracy. In the West a truer democracy even than that which Jefferson taught reigned supreme.

As new states were formed there were fewer restrictions on the suffrage and gradually this spirit extended eastward and the older states modified their constitutions, so as to remove property qualifications for voters. In Rhode Island, where the old charter granted by Charles II was still used as a state constitution, greater popular rights were gained only after an uprising known from its leader as Dorr's Rebellion, which lasted from 1841 to 1843.

Social Conditions. Amusements. In America there were very few people who possessed great wealth, but there was, also, very little poverty. People were living in better homes and were more comfortable than formerly, though on the frontier the conditions of colonial life were repeated. Here the pioneer built his log cabin in his little clearing and got a few more acres under cultivation each year. The people of the frontier settlements enjoyed house-raisings, husking-bees, and other diversions that our colonial forefathers had enjoyed. In the West a camp meeting was a great social, as well as a religious, event. People would go for miles, carrying food and provisions and gathering together to enjoy each other's company and to listen to the preaching of some devoted missionary.

In the cities theater-going was a favorite amusement, and balls and parties still held sway. Even in New England cities, where the austerity of the early Puritans had to a large extent passed away, the people indulged in these pastimes. Hunting and riding were the chief outdoor sports. Our great national game of baseball was then scarcely heard of.

The men of Jackson's time had discarded the bright-colored garments and powdered wigs of colonial days, now dressing rather simply and severely and wearing closely cropped hair. But the belles of the thirties and forties

were still resplendent in flounces and bright-colored bodices, high-heeled slippers, and corkscrew curls.

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

1. What were the occupations of the people of Kentucky and Tennessee?
2. What states furnished the settlers of Missouri?
3. Who was the first President strongly to advocate internal improvement?
4. Why did this problem become so important? What parts of the country were most interested in it?
5. Why was New Orleans an important city? Charleston?
6. In what respect was the Baltimore and Ohio railroad a competitor of the Erie Canal? Compare dates.
7. Where was the center of population in 1830? Where it is now?
8. Locate three of the first railroad lines built.
9. What sort of farm implements were used in 1830?
10. What was the attitude of the Southerners toward slavery at this time?
11. What effect did the abolition crusade have upon this attitude?

CHAPTER XVII

THE JACKSONIAN EPOCH

ANDREW JACKSON, President, 1829-1837.
JOHN C. CALHOUN, Vice President, 1829-1833.
MARTIN VAN BUREN, Vice President, 1833-1837.
MARTIN VAN BUREN, President, 1837-1841.
RICHARD M. JOHNSON, Vice President, 1837-1841.

The New President. During the first forty years of our history the leading statesmen were men who had participated directly or indirectly in the Revolution or in the formation of the government; but in 1829 a new generation had come into power when Andrew Jackson was installed as the seventh President of the United States. Not since the first election of Washington had there been such an outburst of public enthusiasm; on the journey from "The Hermitage" to Washington, Jackson was greeted everywhere by vast throngs of admirers who had come hundreds of miles to see "Old Hickory." Jackson was typical of the new generation and of

ANDREW JACKSON

the West.[1] The rough and ready life of the frontier had developed his wonderful power of leadership; he was fearless and honest and possessed those magnetic qualities which appeal to the great masses of mankind. His military career had made him a man of quick decision and prompt action, and he exercised these qualities in the executive office.

THE HERMITAGE. THE COUNTRY HOME OF ANDREW JACKSON NEAR NASHVILLE, TENN.

The Cabinet and the Kitchen Cabinet. Jackson chose his cabinet on the basis of service to himself. The ablest member of this body was the Secretary of State, Martin Van Buren, a clever New York political manager, who

[1]Andrew Jackson was born on the border between North Carolina and South Carolina in 1767. When a boy of fourteen, he fought with the patriots at King's Mountain. He was reared in poverty, and in his early life he supported himself by saddle making and by working in the fields. In 1788, he became a lawyer in Tennessee, and by his ability in leadership he won office after office in the gift of the people. He had no friendship for the English or the Indians. After his retirement from the presidency he lived at "The Hermitage," his home in Tennessee, until his death in 1845.

was called the "Little Magician." But no President ever relied less on his cabinet than did Jackson; he rarely held cabinet meetings or asked the advice of the members of that body. He had a small group of political friends and unofficial advisers on the outside, whom the newspapers dubbed the "Kitchen Cabinet," and on these men he relied most for advice.

The Spoils System. The new administration was marked by a revolution in the method of appointment to the civil service. Jefferson had made a few removals in order that the Democrats and the Federalists in office might be more nearly equal in number, but with this exception it had been the custom for appointive officers, such as postmasters, clerks, and marshals to retain their positions under successive administrations, as long as they gave faithful and efficient service. However, it was generally understood that Jackson's creed was, "To the victors belong the spoils," and that he intended to reward those friends who had loyally supported him. As he had a multitude of deserving friends and as there were few vacancies, his inauguration made "half the officeholders in the country quake in their slippers." In a few months he removed from office ten times as many men as had all previous Presidents combined, and for the next fifty years his plan of filling offices was followed to a greater or less extent by succeeding Presidents. Jackson did not originate the "spoils system," for it had already existed in many of the states, but to him and his advisers belongs the responsibility of introducing it into the broader field of federal politics.

The Tariff and the Sections. At the beginning of Jackson's administration, there was a determined feeling in the South that the high protective tariffs of 1824 and 1828

should be modified. In 1816 some southern leaders, prominent among them John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, had assented to a limited protection in the hope of developing manufacturing interests. But it was regarded as a temporary expedient and not a permanent policy. A few years of protection would enable our manufacturers, they thought, to make articles of necessity as cheaply at home as they could be imported from abroad. Henry Clay, the great advocate of protection, at first took this position. But the policy was continued, without cheapening manufactured products. No advantages had accrued to the South from the system; her slave labor was not adapted to factory work and a protective tariff increased the price of the manufactured goods which the South was compelled to buy, but did not widen the markets for her staples, tobacco, cotton, and rice, nor did it increase the price of her products. The South realized that her prosperity depended on a freer movement of trade.

It will be recalled that several southern legislatures in 1828 had made protests against the "tariff of abominations." The most important of these protests was that of the South Carolina legislature, formulated into a celebrated document known as "The Exposition," defining the nature of the Federal Union and the reserved powers of the states. This was the work of John C. Calhoun, who now opposed the policy of protection because he thought it meant ruin to his state and his section. In 1828, however, neither South Carolina nor any other southern state went further than to issue protests and the agitation ceased for the time because the South hoped that when the old "hero of New Orleans" was President the tariff burden would be lightened.

In 1816 the chief interest of Massachusetts lay in ship-

ping, and with Daniel Webster as her spokesman she stood out boldly against the protective tariff and in favor of free trade. But by 1828, because of the encouragement of the tariff, the whole of New England had withdrawn gradually a goodly part of the capital invested in foreign trade and had become a manufacturing section, and with Webster again as her spokesman ardently supported the protective tariff system.

The Great Debate. The great debate on the tariff and other public questions in the Senate in 1830 revealed with startling distinctness the wide difference between the views of the North and the South. Robert Y. Hayne, senator from South Carolina, as spokesman for his state and for the South, demonstrated in a masterly argument the injury to his section from the protective system. Following Calhoun's arguments in the famous "Exposition," he defined the Union as a compact or partnership entered into by sovereign states which delegated certain powers to the federal government and reserved all other powers to themselves. When Congress exercised powers beyond those granted and passed a law that was unconstitutional and unjust, it became the right and the duty of the state, as Hayne argued, to declare such law null and void

DANIEL WEBSTER

within her borders until a convention of all the states could be assembled for approval or disapproval. This contention in its last analysis justified secession, but Hayne and Calhoun hoped that South Carolina would not feel compelled to go to this length. They urged nullification as a means of protecting the states against federal aggression and thus of preserving the Union. Hayne had only re-stated the views of many of the framers of the Constitution. The Kentucky and Virginia legislatures had expressed the same ideas in the famous resolutions of 1798. New England had given utterance to the same opinion in 1803, and again during the War of 1812.

Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, the foremost New England statesman and probably the greatest orator that America had yet produced, replied to Hayne. He did not undertake to answer Hayne's contention that the protective tariff was a grievous injury to the South, but he attacked the doctrine of nullification and advanced the view that the Union was not a compact of sovereign states, but that the federal government was superior to the states; that the states could not nullify a law of Congress, and that the Union could not be dissolved. Notwithstanding the historical facts and the previously accepted view of the nature of the government,

ROBERT Y. HAYNE

Webster's speech, which was a powerful and eloquent deliverance, was regarded by many people in the North as a correct exposition of the nature and powers of the federal government.

The Tariff of 1832. Two years after this great debate in the Senate a new tariff bill was brought forward upon the suggestion of Henry Clay, which simply eliminated from the tariff of 1828 some of its most objectionable features and preserved the protective duties in full force. In spite of the protests of the South this bill became a law in July, 1832.

Nullification Ordinance. In November a convention of the people of South Carolina called by the legislature assembled at Columbia, and on the twenty-fourth day of the month the tariff laws of 1828 and 1832 were declared null and void within the state of South Carolina, and the state threatened to secede from the Union if the federal government attempted to enforce these laws at her ports. This ordinance of nullification was not to go into effect until February 1, 1833.

Jackson and South Carolina. Jackson believed that the reserved rights of the states should be maintained, and in his message to Congress in 1830 he had said that the tariff was "too high on some of the comforts of life," but the action of South Carolina roused his military instincts and he met the situation with soldierly directness.[1] In a proclamation to the people of South Carolina he declared that his duty was to enforce the laws of the Union and this he intended to do at any cost. He warned the people

[1] At a banquet held on Jefferson's birthday, April 13, 1830, Jackson was invited to be present and to give a toast of his own choosing. His subject was "Our Federal Union; it must and shall be preserved." In this manner Jackson had announced the position he would take if South Carolina executed her threat of nullification.

that force would be employed if they attempted to resist the laws of the United States, and he asked Congress to enlarge his powers for the enforcement of the law. Congress responded with an act known as the Force Bill passed March 1, 1833, which authorized the President to use the army and navy to collect the tariff duties. South Carolina did not flinch in the face of these hostile measures. Hayne was called from the Senate to the governorship and in a stirring proclamation to the people of the state he urged them to stand firm in their resistance to the obnoxious tariff law and if need be meet force with force. Calhoun resigned the Vice Presidency to take Hayne's place in the Senate, there to fight the battles of his state. With all his powerful logic he opposed the Force Bill and he pleaded that the federal government remain true to the original ideal of the Constitution, for by that means alone he believed the Union could be preserved.

Compromise Tariff of 1833. While the administration held the sword in one hand, the olive branch was offered in the other. In a message to Congress Jackson insisted upon the repeal of the tariff law and Congress undertook to make a satisfactory revision. South Carolina agreed to suspend the Ordinance of Nullification until the close of the session of Congress, for she was more than willing to go half way in an effort at conciliation. Henry Clay, true to his reputation as the "Great Pacificator," suggested a compromise tariff which provided for the gradual reduction of the duties for a period of ten years until they should reach the general level of twenty per cent, which was the rate of the tariff of 1816. Calhoun earnestly supported Clay, for he deplored the sectional divergence which the tariff had produced. Clay's compromise tariff became a law March 3, 1833, and South Carolina repealed

her ordinance nullifying the tariffs of 1828 and 1832, but at the same time she passed another ordinance nullifying the Force Bill. Many thoughtful men feared that the storm had merely blown over for the time. Afterwards Jackson himself said, "the next will be the slavery or negro question."

Jackson and the Bank. During these months, when the tariff grievance and nullification were absorbing the attention of South Carolina, another presidential election had taken place. The National Republicans had put forth their great leader, Henry Clay; the Democrats supported Jackson. The chief issue in the election was the United States Bank. From the beginning of his administration Jackson had opposed the bank as unconstitutional and as an instrument of corruption in politics, and he declared that the government funds were not safe in its keeping. The friends of the institution became alarmed and in 1832, four years before the charter was to expire, Clay submitted to Congress a bill for its recharter. The bill passed both houses of Congress, but was promptly vetoed by the President and the question went to the people as an issue in the campaign. Jackson was re-elected President and Martin Van Buren was elected Vice President.

Removal of Deposits. The "Pet Banks." Jackson regarded his re-election as an approval of his policy toward the bank, and after the nullification storm had blown over he made resolute war on the institution. The Secretary of the Treasury was ordered to withhold any future government funds from the bank and deposit them in state banks instead. The banks selected for government deposits were managed for the most part by Jackson men and these institutions were nicknamed the "pet banks." The removal of the deposits meant the end of the United States

Bank and in 1836 when its charter expired it secured another charter from the state of Pennsylania and continued business as a state bank.

Indian Policy. After the power of the Indians in the Northwest and Southwest was broken in the War of 1812 settlers flocked into these regions before the Indian possessors of the soil had ceded their lands or been removed. This westward movement caused the government to adopt a definite Indian policy. Monroe recommended that the Indians be removed to lands west of the Mississippi where they were to dwell in peace and be protected until they became reconciled to civilized life. The removal was accomplished by Jackson but not without opposition from the Indians who struggled to hold their fertile lands.

Black Hawk War. War with Osceola. Under the leadership of Black Hawk, the Sac and Fox Indians in 1832 made a forlorn attempt to recover their lands in Illinois and Wisconsin which had already been ceded to the United States. After a wasting frontier war, the Indians were subdued and were removed to the lands beyond the Mississippi. On their westward march numbers of them, including women and children, were mercilessly slaughtered. In Florida another Seminole war broke out in 1835 and continued intermittently for about seven years. The strength of the Seminoles was not broken until Osceola, their chief, was captured. Then the Seminoles were taken westward to swell the number of Indians that were already in the new territory.

Georgia and the Indians. Indian troubles in Georgia came to a head during the early thirties. When that state gave her western lands to the federal government in 1802, it was upon the condition that the Indians should be removed from within her borders as soon as possible.

Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws possessed valuable lands in Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia. Again and again the state of Georgia urged the removal of the Indians in order to open the lands to settlers. In 1827 the lands of the Creeks within the state were bought by the federal government, but the Cherokees still remained. At last, impatient at the long delay, Georgia took the matter into her own hands and in 1828 annexed the Cherokee lands to five adjacent counties. The Cherokees, who were the most civilized of the southern Indians, protested against this action as a violation of their ancient right to the soil and of their treaty with the United States guaranteeing to them their lands. They appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States and Chief Justice Marshall sustained the Indians, but Georgia ignored the decision of the court and continued to assert her rights over the lands. Jackson sustained the state and in 1835 the Indians were removed into the Indian territory. The Cherokees received five million dollars for their lands and an additional grant in their new home. Soon the other southern tribes relinquished their claims to lands east of the river on similar terms.

Foreign Affairs. During Jackson's administration two important questions affecting our foreign relations were settled. Great Britain from the beginning of our history had continued to place heavy restrictions on our trade with the West Indies. Jackson agreed to make certain concessions to the British and the ports of the West Indies were thrown open to us, and this trade became a source of great wealth to American merchants.

The other affair was the settlement of the French spoliation claims. France had refused to pay for the damage done to our commerce in the trying period preceding the

War of 1812. Jackson now insisted upon settlement and the French complied. We secured not only commercial advantages and a money indemnity, but a position of greater dignity among the nations of the earth.

Distribution of the Surplus. The debt of the United States was paid by 1835, and a large surplus was accumulating. What to do with this was an important question. Although Jackson's first administration saw the beginning of the steam railway in America the question of internal improvements, the building of roads and canals, was still a vital issue in American politics. But Jackson did not believe in the constitutionality of spending the federal revenue for internal improvements. A bill was passed providing that after January 1, 1837, the surplus in the treasury was to be distributed among the states in quarterly payments for them to use at their discretion.

The Specie Circular. After the removal of the deposits from the United States Bank, state banks increased in number. State banks of that day did business not only upon their capital and the deposits placed in them, but could issue paper money, or "promises to pay." The officers of a bank exercised their own judgment as to how much paper they would issue. The prosperity of the country and the rapid growth of business caused a greater need of money, and, as there was no great amount of silver and gold, the banks thought to supply the need by issuing paper. Immense areas of western land were bought up by the speculators and paid for in state bank notes, and the government soon found itself embarrassed by large receipts of paper money. All went well for a while but conservative business men knew that this could not last. Jackson, too, while he liked the state banks did not believe in this "wild cat" banking. In July, 1836, the Specie Circular was

issued by the President demanding specie or metallic money in payment for public lands. This policy bore heavily upon the banks. The state banks carrying government deposits were under obligations to pay out to the states, on the first of January, 1837, the first installment of the surplus revenue which also caused a great demand for coin.

Election of Van Buren. By 1836 the National Republicans were known as the Whigs and in the Presidential election of that year their vote was divided chiefly between Daniel Webster and William Henry Harrison. The Democrats united upon Van Buren[1] as their candidate for the Presidency and won the victory. Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky was elected Vice President. He did not receive a majority of the electoral votes and was chosen by the Senate as the Constitution provides, our only Vice President so chosen.

MARTIN VAN BUREN

The Panic of 1837. Hardly was Van Buren inaugurated before a great financial storm swept over the country. There was no coin to redeem the bank notes or to pay the government for the western lands. Three installments of the treasury surplus had been distributed among the states and then the collapse came and there was none to distribute. The purchasing power of paper money was so low, prices so high, and business so

[1]Martin Van Buren was born in New York in 1782. He was United States Senator from New York and also governor of that state. Jackson appointed him minister to Great Britain during his first administration. He died in New York in 1862.

much disturbed that there was great distress, and in the early months of 1837 there were bread riots in New York City. This condition of panic continued for more than a year and brought suffering and poverty to many people.

Independent Treasury. Van Buren called a special session of Congress to devise measures of relief and to consider some safe way of handling government funds. A law was passed to allow the treasury to issue notes to the value of ten million dollars which would be accepted by the government in payment of obligations. The United States began borrowing to tide over the crisis. The Whigs claimed that the panic was due to the destruction of the United States Bank and were in favor of its re-establishment. But Van Buren, like Jackson, condemned that institution and proposed an altogether new plan for handling government finances. This was the Independent Treasury system; the government was to keep its revenues in rooms, vaults, and safes to be provided for the Treasury Department and there were to be branches of the treasury, or subtreasuries, in a few of the leading cities. This bill provoked such bitter opposition from the Whigs that it did not become a law for three years.

"Tippecanoe and Tyler, Too." The panic of 1837 caused the Democratic party with Van Buren as its candidate to be defeated in the election of 1840. The Whigs put forth a pioneer soldier candidate who strongly appealed to the affections of the people. Passing over their great leaders, Webster and Clay, they named General William Henry Harrison of Ohio, the hero of Tippecanoe, for President. John Tyler of Virginia, a discontented Democrat, was named for Vice President. Throughout the country there was great enthusiasm and the popular cry was "Hurrah for Tippecanoe and Tyler, too." Public meetings were

held in log cabins to emphasize Harrison's humble western life. There were great parades with log cabin floats having a barrel of hard cider at the door and adorned with coon skins or live coons. In some places the crowds were so large that they were measured by the acre. Harrison and Tyler were overwhelmingly victorious. The abolition party put forth James G. Birney of New York as its first candidate for President in this campaign.

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

1. Who were the popular idols at this time?
2. Was there nullification in Georgia? Explain Jackson's position with reference to Georgia and the Indians.
3. Why is this period sometimes called the period of the "New Democracy?"
4. Have we the spoils system today?
5. Distinguish between nullification and secession.
6. What two legislatures in earlier times had passed resolutions sustaining the right of nullification?
7. Sum up at this point the causes of ill-feeling between North and South.

Begin

CHAPTER XVIII

ANOTHER PERIOD OF EXPANSION

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, President, 1841.
JOHN TYLER, Vice President, then President, 1841-1845.
JAMES K. POLK, President, 1845-1849.
GEORGE M. DALLAS, Vice President, 1845-1849.

Death of Harrison. Shortly after his inauguration, the new President called a special session of Congress, but before it assembled he was dead. Harrison was nearing his seventieth year and the strain and excitement of the campaign, and the appeals of the office seekers, who had rushed to Washington, had worn him out. On April 4, 1841, just one month after the inauguration he died.[1] The country was shocked; it was the first time a President had died in office.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

Tyler and the Whigs. John Tyler became President. Although elected on a Whig ticket, he was a Democrat who had affiliated with the Whigs for a time because of his opposition to some of

[1]William Henry Harrison was born in Virginia in 1773. He fought under General Anthony Wayne against the Indians of the Northwest Territory. In 1800 he was made governor of the territory of Indiana. After his distinguished services during the War of 1812, he was a member of Congress and a senator from Ohio. President Adams sent him as minister to the United States of Colombia in 1828.

Jackson's measures. The Whigs had put him on their ticket for Vice President in the hope of gaining the votes of discontented Democrats, but they had foreseen no such awkward situation as his becoming President.[1]

JOHN TYLER

The special session of Congress which Harrison had called met in May, 1841, and then the trouble began. The Whigs first repealed the Independent Treasury Act which had been passed in 1840, and Tyler signed the bill. The next thing in order was the re-establishment of the United States Bank and a bill for this purpose passed both houses of Congress, but Tyler vetoed this and all other bank bills, and the Whigs were not strong enough to muster the two-thirds majority in each house of Congress to override his veto. The Whig leaders denounced Tyler and read him out of their party and the whole cabinet resigned in a body, except Daniel Webster, the Secretary of State. A new tariff was passed in 1842, and received the President's signature. The duties under the compromise tariff of 1833 had just reached the twenty per cent level, but the new act was protective and the rates were raised.

Webster-Ashburton Treaty. Webster remained at his post in the cabinet when his colleagues resigned, because

[1]John Tyler was born in Virginia in 1790. He was graduated from William and Mary college in 1806. He served his state as member of Congress, as governor, as senator, and in the Confederate Congress. He died in 1862 at Richmond.

he was engaged with Lord Ashburton, the British Minister, in the settlement of the long-standing dispute over the boundary of Maine. The treaty of peace of 1783 had not fixed this boundary line, nor had the treaty with Great Britain in 1818, and there was constant agitation over the disputed territory.

In 1831 the King of the Netherlands, who had been called upon to act as arbiter, awarded to Canada the strip of territory claimed by Maine. That state and the state of Massachusetts likewise, which owned lands in Maine, threatened to nullify the agreement if the federal government accepted it and the matter was dropped for the time. Quarrels over timber cutting in the disputed territory developed into actual hostilities between the citizens of Maine and those of Canada in 1838-39. This disturbance, known as the "Aroostook War," was soon quieted, but the two governments saw the need of settling the boundary question immediately.

In August, 1842, a treaty was signed fixing the boundary line along the height of land which separates the Atlantic-flowing rivers from those whose course is northward to the St. Lawrence. In this treaty an extradition agreement was arranged by which criminals fleeing from either country into the other could be returned for trial. Our western boundary was established as far west as the Rocky Mountains. Beyond was Oregon which the United States and Great Britain continued to occupy jointly.

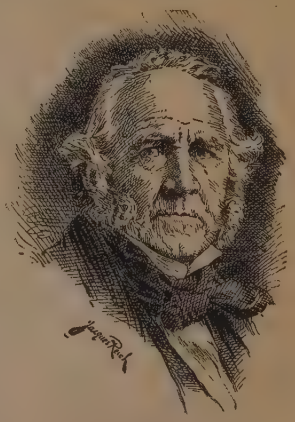
The Story of Texas. The Whigs spurned Tyler, and the Democrats held aloof, but with the annexation of Texas as an issue the President hoped to unite the South in his support. This young empire to the southwest had been settled by the Spanish, although the French, by virtue of La Salle's ill-fated expedition of 1685, laid

claim to the region as a part of the Louisiana country. In 1803, after cessions and recessions on the part of Spain and France, Louisana was purchased by the United States and we claimed that it extended on the southwest to the Rio Grande and thereby included Texas. Spain disputed this claim, and in the treaty of 1819 with that nation we surrendered all title to Texas and agreed to the Sabine River as our southwest boundary. In 1821 Mexico gained her independence and Texas as well as a vast region west of the Rocky Mountains was lost to Spain, these regions becoming provinces of the new nation of Mexico. Texas was very sparsely settled; with the exception of a few old Spanish missions and a few trading posts here and there, the Indians held the lands and roamed over the broad prairies. After 1821 many citizens of the United States under liberal land grants from the Mexican government settled in Texas. The greatest of these pioneers was Stephen F. Austin, the "Father of Texas." Mexican rule was arbitrary and inconstant; first one successful revolutionist and then another ruled the country, and the Americans who had settled in Texas, Southerners for the most part, found this rule intolerable. They petitioned that government for redress of grievances but without avail,

STEPHEN F. AUSTIN

and losing all hope of a fair hearing the Texans took matters into their own hands, revolted, and proclaimed their independence on March 2, 1836.

Meanwhile there had been actual hostilities between Texas and Mexico. Early in 1836 a force of several thousand Mexicans, under General Santa Anna, invaded Texas. They besieged the old fort of the Alamo at San Antonio which was defended by Travis and a band of one hundred and eighty-three daring men who resolved "never to surrender or retreat." These heroic men and martyrs met death at the hands of the Mexicans. A few weeks later at Goliad a force of Texans had surrendered to the Mexicans as prisoners of war, but in violation of the agreement they were marched out, numbering three hundred and seventy-one, and shot down in cold blood.[1] A Texan army numbering fewer than a thousand men, under General Sam Houston had retreated from Gonzales before Santa Anna's, advancing horde far into the southeastern part of the state. At San Jacinto they turned and gave battle on the twenty-first day of April, 1836. Though aided by two small cannon, the Texans, after the first volley, fell upon the enemy with knives and clubbed rifles. The Mexicans fled in terror as the Texans advanced with the blood-curdling cry, "Remember the Alamo! Remember Goliad!" Hundreds of the Mexicans were killed and over seven



SAM HOUSTON

[1]The terms of surrender have recently been brought to light by Dr. Barker, of the University of Texas, and prove that the Mexicans meant one thing, while the Texans understood another.

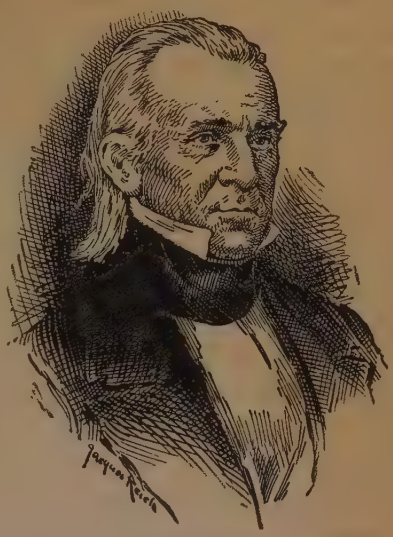
hundred were taken prisoners, including Santa Anna, the self-styled "Napoleon of the West."

Movement for Annexation. Texas now established an independent republic with a constitution fashioned after that of the United States. But the Texas patriots desired annexation to the United States. In 1836 they signified this desire, but all that was accomplished was a recognition of the new republic in 1837. The anti-slavery element in the North opposed annexation because it would increase the power of the South. Jackson, who favored annexation, and Van Buren, who opposed it, both refrained from pressing the issue to a settlement.

Tyler's Annexation Treaty. The annexation of Texas was an inevitable step in our westward expansion. England and France soon began to make advances to the new republic and the United States government awoke to the danger of refusing to consider annexation. President Tyler took up the question with eagerness, and with John C. Calhoun as his Secretary of State, made quiet overtures to Texas, and in 1844 submitted to the Senate a treaty of annexation which that body rejected. But Tyler had forced the issue on the country. New England fought the measure with all her strength. John Quincy Adams said that the annexation of Texas would be a violation of our national compact and would be identical with a dissolution of the Union. Garrison, the abolitionist, proposed that Massachusetts take the lead in withdrawing from the Union if more slave territory were added. The annexationists of the South cried "Texas or disunion." The year 1844 was a Presidential year and the question became an issue in the campaign.

Election of 1844. The Whigs rallied around Henry Clay and again nominated him for the Presidency. Clay was

opposed to the annexation of Texas. The Democrats passed by Van Buren and other avowed candidates and nominated the first "dark horse," James K. Polk[1] of Tennessee. By this term is meant a candidate who has not been strongly considered for the position before. George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania was nominated for the Vice Presidency. The Democratic convention met at Baltimore and was the first whose proceedings were reported by telegraph, Morse's line between Washington and Baltimore having been completed. The Democrats advocated "the reannexation of Texas and the reoccupation of Oregon," so that "Texas and Oregon" and "fifty-four forty or fight" became campaign slogans. Clay found himself in a difficult position; he must not offend the Whigs of the North who bitterly opposed annexation and he must not offend those of the South and West who ardently favored it. He wrote several letters explaining his position on the Texas question, but each letter lost a few more votes; his position was not satisfactory to either side. Polk and Dallas were elected.



JAMES K. POLK

[1]James K. Polk was born in North Carolina in 1795. When he was a small boy his father moved to Tennessee. Polk was a member of Congress from his adopted state for fourteen years, and twice was chosen Speaker of the House. He served as governor of Tennessee, from 1839 to 1841. He died at Nashville, Tennessee, in 1849.

Texas Annexed. Congress upon assembling in December, 1844, accepted the success of the Democrats as a verdict of the people in favor of the annexation of Texas, and before the session closed Tyler had the satisfaction of realizing his ambition of bringing the Lone Star State into the Union. On March 3, 1845, the last day of his administration, the President signed the bill providing for the annexation of Texas. The following December Texas formally became one of the United States.

Other New States. Arkansas, a part of the Louisiana Purchase, had been admitted in 1835, as a slave-holding state, and in 1836 the balance between the slave states and free states was restored by the admission of Michigan, which was carved out of the Northwest Territory. Florida was admitted to the Union as a slave-holding state in 1845, and in 1846 and 1848, Iowa and Wisconsin came in, increasing the number of states to thirty, fifteen slave and fifteen free.

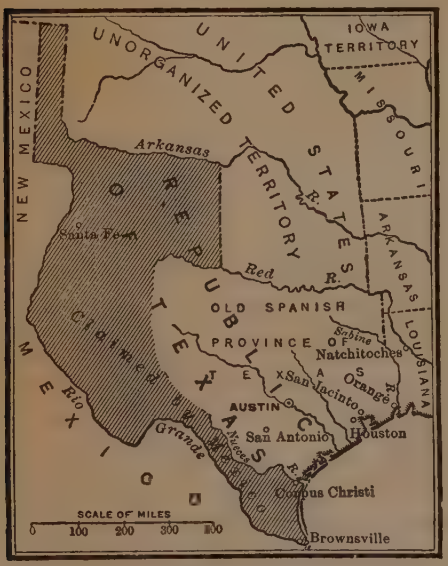
The Settlement of the Oregon Question. The claim to Oregon as far north as the fifty-fourth degree and fortieth minute of latitude bade fair to involve us in serious trouble with Great Britain. The region included all of what is now the states of Idaho, Washington, and Oregon, together with British Columbia as far north as Alaska. In 1818 the two governments agreed to a joint occupation for ten years and in 1827 this was continued indefinitely with the understanding that the agreement would end upon twelve months' notice by either party.

Fur traders had early found their way through South Pass, the "Gateway to Oregon," and had grown rich bartering with the Indians. In the thirties devoted missionaries braved all the dangers of the long Oregon Trail to minister to the Indians of the Columbia valley. The

reports of traders and missionaries aroused a great public interest in Oregon, and Dr. Marcus Whitman, a missionary, made a long winter ride to the East to urge the government to make good its claim to the country. The United States sent John C. Fremont to explore the region between Missouri and the Rocky Mountains, then known as the "Great American Desert," and in three expeditions the country to South Pass, and on to the Great Salt Lake, and as far west as California was surveyed. These explorations won for Fremont the title of "Pathfinder." Soon hundreds of homeseekers gathered in western Missouri each year to make the long journey over the mountains. The British, too, began to come in from Canada. This rapid settlement of Oregon made an adjustment of the boundary question necessary, and the popular cry in 1844 was for all of Oregon. But England had no idea of relinquishing her claim; she declared that Oregon was hers as far south as the Columbia River. For a time it seemed as if war might come, but both sides made concessions and by the Treaty of 1846 the boundary was fixed at the forty-ninth parallel. At last the northern boundary of the United States was complete from sea to sea.

Independent Treasury and the Walker Tariff. The restoration of the Democrats to power was marked by a change in financial legislation. The Independent Treasury System was re-established in 1846 and with slight modification has continued until the present day. The tariff of 1842, passed while Tyler was in office, was lowered to about a revenue standard by the Walker Tariff of 1846, so named for Robert J. Walker of Mississippi, the Secretary of the Treasury. This act gave such satisfaction that the bitter feeling of the past was considerably allayed.

The Mexican Situation. It was well that the Oregon controversy was peaceably settled, because from the very beginning of Polk's administration war threatened with Mexico. That nation still claimed Texas and had declared that she would regard its annexation to the United States as equivalent to an act of war. After annexation was accomplished she recalled her minister from Washington and dismissed our minister in Mexico. There was also a quarrel over the southern boundary of Texas; we claimed that the state extended to the Rio Grande, while the Mexicans maintained that the Nueces River bounded Texas on the southwest. Still another difference between the countries was the fact that the Mexican government owed large sums to American citizens and the President determined to insist upon the payment of these obligations in lands, if not in money. Moreover, Polk and the people of the South and West were casting longing eyes upon California and New Mexico, the vast region west of the Rockies and south of Oregon. An effort was made to settle these differences peaceably. The President sent a minister to Mexico to adjust the points in dispute and to offer Mexico fifteen million dollars for



TERRITORY IN DISPUTE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO

California and New Mexico, and to cancel the indebtedness of that government to Americans. But the Mexicans refused to receive our representative.

The Beginning of War. In the meantime, in view of the disturbed state of affairs, General Zachary Taylor was ordered to occupy a convenient point on or near the Rio Grande, but to limit himself to the defense of Texas unless Mexico should make some move toward war. He took position at Corpus Christi, one hundred and fifty miles from the Mexican border. In April, 1846, he moved southward to Brownsville, and the Mexican general, Arista, crossed the Rio Grande and demanded that the Americans retire to the Nueces River. General Taylor retreated northward to protect his base of supplies, then turned and repulsed the Mexicans at Palo Alto and at Resaca de la Palma, and drove them back across the river. The Americans followed and took possession of the Mexican town of Matamoras. On May 21, 1846, the United States formally recognized the fact that war with Mexico actually existed. A call was issued for volunteers and there was prompt response chiefly in the South and West. Congress appropriated $16,000,000 for prosecuting the war. The causes of the Mexican War may be summed up as follows: First, the annexation of Texas; second, claims of United States citizens against Mexico; third, a desire on our part to extend our boundary to the Pacific and thus fulfill what, in the language of the day, was called "our manifest destiny"; and fourth, the resentment of the Mexican people on account of our attitude toward Texas before it was annexed to the United States.

California and New Mexico. There had been a revolt of the native Mexicans of California in 1846 and at the same time the American settlers rose in insurrection and set up

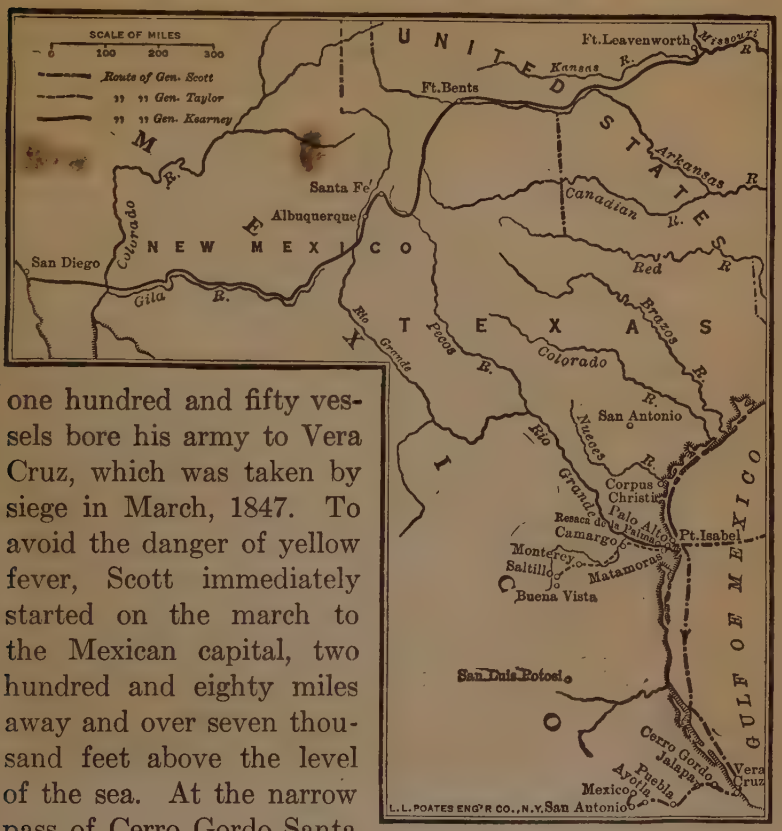
the "Bear Flag Republic." Shortly after this movement, in the summer of 1846, California was taken by a fleet under Commodores Sloat and Stockton, aided by Colonel John C. Fremont, who had moved with a land force into California from Oregon. During the summer New Mexico was invaded by an expedition from Fort Leavenworth under the command of General Stephen W. Kearney, who captured Santa Fé.

Monterey and Buena Vista. In the autumn of 1846 General Taylor advanced toward Monterey, a strongly fortified

BATTLE OF BUENA VISTA

town, which was captured after three days of hard fighting. In January his force was reduced to 5,000 in order to reenforce Scott's army which had been sent by sea to take Vera Cruz. Santa Anna, with about three times as many men, attacked Taylor at Buena Vista, February 23, 1847, but was defeated and the Americans gained control of all the northern part of Mexico.

March to the City of Mexico. General Winfield Scott was now placed in chief command in Mexico. More than one hundred and fifty vessels bore his army to Vera Cruz, which was taken by siege in March, 1847. To avoid the danger of yellow fever, Scott immediately started on the march to the Mexican capital, two hundred and eighty miles away and over seven thousand feet above the level of the sea. At the narrow pass of Cerro Gordo Santa Anna endeavored to check his advance, but General Scott won a complete victory, capturing five Mexican generals and three thousand prisoners. Santa Anna, himself, narrowly escaped capture and his carriage, containing a large amount of gold, his papers, and his wooden leg, fell into the hands of the Americans. The victorious army



ROUTES OF UNITED STATES TROOPS IN THE WAR WITH MEXICO

continued the march upon the capital. The fortresses guarding the city fell one by one and on the morning of September 14, 1847, the City of Mexico was taken and the Stars and Stripes supplanted the Mexican Eagle over the city of Montezumas. In a little more than six months time General Scott's army had made a victorious march through a hostile country, fighting against an enemy of superior numbers. The Mexicans fought with determined bravery, but they could not resist the pluck and daring of the Americans. Many soldiers who afterwards became great leaders fought under Scott and Taylor; among them were Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis, and Ulysses S. Grant.

Peace of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The peace of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed February 2, 1848. Mexico recognized the Rio Grande as the southern boundary of Texas and ceded to us New Mexico and California, a vast territory greater than the entire area of the United States in 1783, with a magnificent Pacific harbor, the gateway to the Orient. We paid Mexico fifteen million dollars for this territory and we agreed to assume her debt of three million dollars to American citizens. Our southern boundary was now complete from sea to sea.

Wilmot Proviso. The Missouri Compromise line extended only to the western boundary of the Louisiana Purchase; consequently the Mexican Cession revived the question of slavery in the territories. The North had opposed the war and the addition of new territory because of the old fear that it would be settled by Southerners and would make the South too powerful. While the war was in progress, David Wilmot, a Pennsylvania Democrat, introduced into Congress what is known as the Wilmot Proviso, the purpose of which was to exclude slavery from

the Mexican Cession. The Proviso never became law and the new territory was acquired without any express condition concerning slavery. The Wilmot bill, however, produced bitter strife in Congress and served to intensify sectional antagonism, which was kept alive by the agitation of the abolitionists.

[illegible]ping the Pacific. The acquisition of California brought up the question of the control of canal routes across the narrow regions of the continent in order to shorten the distance between the oceans. The overland journey to California required from three to eight months, the ocean journey around Cape Horn from three to four months, and both were fraught with many dangers. In 1846 we made a treaty with the United States of Colombia guaranteeing us the use of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. In 1850 we made an agreement known as the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty with England, who claimed a protectorate over some of the Central American lands, by which we secured a common use and neutral control of a canal through Nicaragua.

Our acquisition of Pacific territory also gave us ports for direct trade with the Far East. Already in 1844, the United States had secured a desirable commercial treaty with China, by which five ports were opened to our trade. In 1852 Commodore Matthew C. Perry was sent with a squadron of warships on a special diplomatic and commercial mission to Japan. In 1853 the fleet reached Japan and, although there was much opposition to the foreigners, Perry remained in the harbor of Tokyo until some attention was paid to the demands of his government. At last Japan consented to a treaty by which friendly intercourse was established between the two countries and the Japanese ports were thrown open to our trade.

Election of 1848. After the close of the Mexican War the interests of the people centered in the Presidential election. The Democrats nominated Lewis Cass of Michigan for the Presidency. The Whigs were long in doubt about their candidate. Should they put forth Clay again, "the same old coon" the Democrats called him, or should they adopt the plan that had been successful in 1840, namely, running a soldier candidate? They now had two to choose from, for both Scott and Taylor were Whigs. The party nominated General Zachary Taylor. The Free Soilers, a new party composed of Whigs and Democrats who supported the Wilmot Proviso, nominated Van Buren, and, while it polled but few votes, it cost the Democrats the election. Taylor was elected President and Millard Fillmore of New York Vice President.

Discovery of Gold in California. In the same year that peace was concluded with Mexico gold was discovered in California. While a sawmill and a mill dam were being constructed at Sutter's Fort on the Sacramento River, some shining particles that proved to be gold were found in the sand. Soon there was developed such a wealth of the yellow metal that California proved to be a veritable land of Midas. People began to flock to California from all parts of the world. Long caravans trailed across the plains and over the great divide; some went by the way of the Isthmus of Panama or Lake Nicaraugua and sailed up the Pacific coast to the "Golden Gate"; others went around Cape Horn, doubling the continents in their search for gold. By 1850 there were upwards of one hundred thousand settlers in the country and California was applying for admission as a free state before Congress was ready to organize her as a territory.

Other mineral wealth was soon discovered in the Mexi-

can Cession, and in other parts of the United States as well. In 1858 gold mines were discovered at Pike's Peak, Colorado, and silver mines at Virginia City, Nevada. These were the first silver mines in the United States; since that time the West has produced most of the world's silver. Coal-bearing strata were found in various parts of the United States and within a decade rich underground oil streams were being worked in Pennsylvania.

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

1. How far back in the history does the controversy over the boundary of Maine date?
2. Why was the campaign cry of 1844 the "reannexation" of Texas?
3. Who gained more territory in the compromise of 1846, Great Britain or the United States?
4. What had checked the movement in the South to free the slaves?
5. Why was the Mexican War unpopular in New England?
6. What is meant by our "manifest destiny"?
7. Was the Mexican War a war of conquest?
8. Contrast New England and the South in their influence upon the acquisition of territory west of the Appalachians.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Semple, *Geographic Conditions*
Wilson, *Division and Reunion*
Turner, *Rise of the New West*
McDonald, *Jacksonian Democracy*
Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*
Garrison, *Westward Extension*
Page, *The Old South*
Johnston, *American Transportation*
Hale, *Stories of Inventions*
Hall, *Half Hours in Southern History*
Guerber, *Stories of the Great Republic*
Hart, *Source Readers*
Travis, *Appeal to the People of Texas and All Americans in the World*
Russell, *Christmas Night in the Quarters*

PERIOD VI.—ERA OF STRIFE

1850-1876

CHAPTER XIX

THE PARTING OF THE WAYS

ZACHARY TAYLOR, President, 1849-1850.
MILLARD FILLMORE, Vice President, 1849-1850.
MILLARD FILLMORE, President, 1850-1853.
FRANKLIN PIERCE, President, 1853-1857.
WILLIAM R. KING, Vice President, 1853.
(Died April, 1853.)
JAMES BUCHANAN, President, 1857-1861.
JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE, Vice President, 1857-1861.

Organization of the New Territory. The work of organizing the new territory devolved upon President Taylor[1] and the Whig party. The North demanded the terms of the Wilmot Proviso. The South held firmly to her position that every American citizen had the right to take his slaves with him into all the territories, that the scattering of the slaves over a greater area would be best for both races and would not delay the ultimate abolition of slavery. But for the sake of compromise

ZACHARY TAYLOR

[1]General Zachary Taylor was born in Virginia in 1784. He served in the War of 1812, and in the Black Hawk War of 1832. In the second war against the Seminoles in Florida, he was made commander of the United States army. His soldiers called him "Old Rough and Ready." Until his election to the Presidency he had never held a civil office.

the Southern leaders were willing that the Missouri line should be extended to the Pacific.

Admission of California. Other Differences. A new element was introduced into the political situation by the fact that California was applying for statehood under a constitution excluding slavery. The admission of California as a free-soil state would place the South in the minority in the Senate as well as in the House, and that section for her own protection urged first the settlement of the slavery question in the rest of the Mexican Cession. Another cause of ill-feeling between the sections was the question of fugitive slaves. The fugitive slave law, for which provision was made in the Constitution and which had been a statute since 1793, was practically null and void because the people of the Northern states refused to enforce it. The South demanded the enforcement of this law. At the same time the radicals of the North demanded the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Texas was involved in a boundary dispute that in some degree hinged upon the question of the expansion of slavery. While these issues were pending a convention of the Southern states was called to meet at Nashville, Tennessee, to consider the question of separation if Southern rights were not safeguarded.

Strife in Congress. Such were the problems facing President Taylor when Congress assembled in December, 1849. The three great statesmen of the second generation, Clay, Calhoun and Webster, old and almost ready to pass beyond the sphere of human activities, appeared in the Senate for the last time and labored earnestly for the adjustment of the complex problems which embittered the sections and threatened the Union. Clay endeavored to

settle the points in dispute by several compromise measures combined into one which received the name of the "Omnibus Bill." For more than eight months Congress discussed these measures in a passion of bitterness. Clay pleaded for his compromise with all the force of his great eloquence.[1] On the fourth of March Calhoun, sick and worn, was brought in a wheel chair and sat, pale as a corpse, while his speech was read to the Senate.[2] He opposed the compromise measures because he believed that the South had been misrepresented and her rights trampled upon. "The cords that bind the States together," he said, "are not only many, but various in character. Among them, some are spiritual or ecclesiastical, some political, others social; others appertain to the benefits conferred by the Union; and others to the feeling of duty and obligation." He showed how one after another these cords had been broken and that soon there would be none remaining. Solemnly, almost as a voice from the grave, came his declaration that the permanence of the Union depended upon adherence

HENRY CLAY

[1]Henry Clay was born in Virginia, in 1777. In 1797 he removed to Kentucky. He represented this state many times in both houses of Congress. Few men of our history had greater power over his followers: he was "Our Harry," and the "Mill Boy of the Slashes," to them all. He died at Washington in 1852.

[2]John C. Calhoun was born in South Carolina, in 1782. He was graduated from Yale College in 1804, and in 1811 became a member of Congress from his native state. He served in the Senate sixteen years in all. He was loved and revered throughout the South, and his zeal and his great moral worth won the respect of his enemies. Calhoun died at Washington, March 31, 1850.

to the original purpose of the Constitution. The South must have equal rights in the new territory, her fugitive slaves must be returned, and the Constitution must be amended so as to give her sufficient power to protect her institutions from danger.

On the seventh day of March, 1850, Daniel Webster spoke in behalf of the compromise. He declared that the agitation of the abolitionists had given the South just cause for complaint and he urged the cultivation of a kindlier feeling between the sections. Webster's speech was prompted by a desire to save the Union, but it lost him many followers in the North, particularly in New England.[1]

MILLARD FILLMORE

The younger statesmen of the third generation also took part in this debate. William H. Seward of New York, a strong anti-slavery leader, spoke against the compromise and declared there is a "higher law" than the Constitution. Jefferson Davis of Mississippi likewise opposed the compromise and maintained that the South should have "an equal right to go into all the territories." He stated, however, that he would agree to an extension of the Missouri line to the Pacific.

Death of Taylor. Compromise of 1850. President Taylor opposed the compromise. But on July 9, 1850, he died,

[1]Daniel Webster was born in New Hampshire, in 1782. He served as a member of Congress from that state, and, after he moved to Boston, was for many years senator from the state of Massachusetts. His orations on Bunker Hill, and on Adams and Jefferson, and his reply to Hayne rank among the greatest of American orations. He died on October 24, 1852.

the second of our Presidents to die in office. By September, 1850, the several measures proposed by Clay had passed and were signed by President Fillmore,[1] who had chosen Webster for his Secretary of State and chief adviser. Though failing when submitted as one bill the Clay measures were finally passed as separate acts. Taken together they are known as the Compromise of 1850, and in final form they comprised the following provisions: First, Cali-

C A N A D A
WASHINGTON TER.
Free by Act of 1846
Opened to Slavery by Act of 1848
Declared Slave by Dred Scott decision of 1857
OREGON TERRITORY
NEBRASKA TERRITORY
Opened to Slavery by the Act of 1854
Free by the Missouri Compromise
Declared Free by Dred Scott decision
MINNESOTA TERRITORY
UTAH TERRITORY
Free by Act of 1850
Opened to Slavery by Compromise of 1850
Declared Free by Dred Scott decision
KANSAS TERRITORY
MISSOURI COMPROMISE LINE
1820 36° 30'
UNORGANIZED TER.
NEW MEXICO TERRITORY
FREE STATES
SLAVE STATES
MEXICO
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500

SLAVE AND FREE TERRITORY AFTER THE COMPROMISE OF 1850

fornia was to be admitted as a free state; second, the remainder of the Mexican cession was to be organized into territories with the right to decide for themselves, when ready for statehood, whether they should permit or exclude slavery; third, Texas was paid ten million dollars for relinquishing her claim to New Mexico; fourth, the slave trade

[1]Millard Fillmore was born in New York, in 1800. His early life was spent in poverty. In 1823, in his native state, he was admitted to the bar and he soon won a reputation as a lawyer; he held several state offices and represented his state in Congress. He died at Buffalo, New York, in 1874.

was abolished in the District of Columbia; fifth, a new fugitive slave law was passed and United States officers were held responsible for the return of runaway slaves. This compromise was to be accepted as a final, solemn compact of peace between the sections.

Fugitive Slave Law and Personal Liberty Laws. Despite the compromise, bitterness between the sections continued to increase. In the North the operation of the fugitive slave law was resisted and in many public meetings it was declared that such a law justified dissolution of the Union. Fourteen Northern states passed "personal liberty laws," which in effect nullified the fugitive slave law. Attempts to enforce the law in many of the Northern states in which slaves had taken refuge caused bloody riots. The underground railways were increased and thousands of slaves were aided to escape. Concerning this persistent violation of the fugitive slave law by the North, Webster said "if the Northern states refuse wilfully and deliberately to carry into effect that part of the Constitution which respects the restoration of fugitive slaves, and Congress provides no remedy, the South would no longer be bound to observe the compact. A bargain cannot be broken on one side and still bind the other."

FRANKLIN PIERCE

A great force in shaping public opinion in the North was "Uncle Tom's Cabin," a story by Harriet Beecher Stowe, which greatly exaggerated the conditions of slave life, but was accepted as a true picture. It had an enormous circulation and was dramatized, reaching

in this way thousands who would never have read the book.

Election of 1852. In the Presidential election of 1852 the Democrats nominated Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire for President. The Whigs again nominated a military hero, General Winfield Scott. Both parties in their platforms expressed their willingness to stand by the Compromise of 1850. The Democrats were successful; Franklin Pierce[1] became President and William R. King of Alabama, Vice President. The free-soil party put up John P. Hale of Massachusetts, but polled very few votes.

The Gadsden Purchase and the Pacific Railroads. The sudden growth of California made the question of transcontinental travel an important one. We had already made treaties for the building of a canal, but this undertaking would be slow of development because of the enormous expense. In the meantime the government considered the problem of Pacific railroads. Jefferson Davis, whom Pierce had made Secretary of War, advocated a southern route. A survey was made which revealed the fact that a part of the road would have to be built south of the Gila River, the boundary of the United States as fixed by the treaty with Mexico in 1848. In order that the proposed railroad should be wholly within our territory we purchased from Mexico in 1853, for $10,000,000, a small tract of land south of this river which is known as the Gadsden Purchase from Captain James Gadsden of South Carolina, our minister to Mexico. The southern route would be a powerful factor in the development of the South and West.

But the Middle West was eager for a transcontinental

[1]Franklin Pierce was born in New Hampshire in 1804. He was a student at Bowdoin College with Hawthorne and Longfellow. He represented his state in both houses of Congress from 1833 to 1847. In the Mexican War he displayed bravery and skill, and was raised to the rank of brigadier-general. He died in 1869. Pierce's cabinet was the only one in our history in which there was no change.

railroad that would run westward through the Platte country, or Kansas and Nebraska, which was then a part of the Indian lands. Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, the great advocate of this route, thought a necessary step for its accomplishment was to remove the Indians and open the Kansas-Nebraska country to settlers. There were two difficulties in his way: the South would oppose any measure for a railroad through the Platte country, and would likewise oppose as long as possible the admission of states north of the Missouri line in the Louisiana Purchase because her balance in the Senate had already been destroyed by the admission of California.

Kansas and Nebraska Bill, 1854. To overcome these difficulties Douglas resolved to keep his railroad scheme in the background for a while and in 1854 he introduced into Congress a bill providing for the organization of the territories of Kansas and Nebraska on the principle of popular or "squatter sovereignty." This meant that the people of the territories would have the right to decide for themselves whether or not they would permit slavery. Douglas reasoned that the Compromise of 1850 had rendered null and void the Missouri Compromise of 1820.

Both railroad schemes failed for the time, but the slavery question was opened with renewed violence and Congress was again the scene of stormy and protracted debate. Those who were fighting slavery condemned the Kansas and Nebraska bill as a violation of the Missouri Compromise and contended that the Compromise of 1850 applied only to the Mexican cession. The Southern leaders supported the measure because the erection of Kansas into a slave state would restore the balance between the sections. Douglas ably defended his bill and in May, 1854, it became a law.

The Kansas and Nebraska bill created two new territories, Kansas and Nebraska, and it expressly repealed that part of the Missouri Compromise which declared the territory north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes to be free. The right to decide upon slavery in the territories was thus left with the settlers themselves. Unfortunately, however, the bill did not specify the time at which popular sovereignty was to be exercised. Northern men interpreted it to mean that the people of a territory could at any time decide upon the question of slavery, while Southern men believed that this could be done only when the territory applied for admission as a state. The latter argued that until it became a state, the territory was the common property of all the states and the people of any state could emigrate to it, taking their property with them. Thus, instead of settling the controversy, the new law sowed the seeds of future discord.

Struggle for Kansas. Hardly was the Kansas-Nebraska bill passed before there began a struggle between the North and the South for the possession of Kansas. The section that gained control of the new territory would determine whether it should become a slave state or a free state. The Massachusetts emigrant aid society was formed chiefly of abolitionists for the purpose of colonizing Kansas, and in July, 1854, a body of Massachusetts emigrants set out for the territory. By the end of the year there were several thousand "Sons of Freedom" in Kansas. Southern settlers, too, came into the region, pouring over the border from Missouri, bringing their slaves with them. The New England emigrants were supplied by the society with arms, and the Missourians, whom the abolitionists called "border ruffians," likewise carried guns. The pro-slavery faction settled around Leavenworth and Lecompton, the anti-slavery faction around Topeka and Lawrence.

Each organized its own legislature, drew up a constitution, and petitioned Congress for admission to the Union as a state. One faction excluded slavery, the other permitted it.

Soon the settlers came to blows; riot, massacre, and arson, were the order of the day. The Southern leaders attacked the town of Lawrence and a newspaper office and a hotel were destroyed. The free-state faction also committed many acts of violence. But the crowning horror of the early days in Kansas was the deeds of John Brown and his band. In a night raid he attacked lonely farm houses along Pottawatomie Creek and killed in cold blood five pro-slavery leaders. Investigation of the facts of John Brown's life seems to prove that he was at the head of a gang of desperadoes, among them his own sons, and he used the slavery agitation as a means to get money from prominent abolitionists.

The legislature of the pro-slavery settlers was recognized by the President as the legal body, but the non-slavery leaders declared that this body was elected by fraudulent votes of the Missourians who came across the border to vote and then returned home. Finally, United States troops had to be sent to restore order to "Bleeding Kansas," but the trouble continued and it was not until 1861 that Kansas was admitted into the Union. It was admitted as a free state.

Formation of New Parties. The Whig party had split on the Compromise of 1850 and soon after the election of 1852 had practically ceased to exist. In 1854 the opponents of the Kansas-Nebraska Act united and formed a new political party known at first as the Anti-Nebraska men. The party grew in numbers and became a vast fusion organization of all the elements opposed to slavery. It

was made up of Northern Whigs, Northern Democrats, Free Soilers, Abolitionists, and Anti-Nebraska men, who took the name of Republicans. This party was anti-slavery and sectional. Heretofore the great political parties had their following throughout the whole country, and in every Presidential election before 1860 we find all candidates receiving support in both northern and southern states, but the Republican party in 1856 and in 1860 could expect no support from the South. Another party sprang up at this time, the American or Know-nothing party, which grew out of a secret organization whose members were called "know-nothings," because when asked what they stood for answered, "I do not know." It was organized to check the influence of foreigners in elections by voting for Americans only. It did not take any stand on the slavery question.

Presidential Election of 1856. In the Presidential election of 1856 the contest was between the new Republican party and the Democratic party, although other parties had candidates in the field. The Republicans chose both their candidates from anti-slavery states, John C. Fremont of California for President and William L. Dayton of New Jersey for Vice President. Denouncing the Kansas-Nebraska Act and declaring that Congress had no right to permit slaves to go into any territory, this party demanded the prompt admission of Kansas as a free state. The Democrats, on the other hand, endorsed the Kansas-Nebraska Act and named James Buchanan of Pennsylvania for President and John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky for Vice President. The American party, for President nominated former President Fillmore and for Vice President Andrew J. Donelson of Tennessee. The Democrats won in the election but the Republicans carried nearly

every Northern state. The sectional issue had become the dominant force in American politics.

The Dred Scott Decision. Just three days after President Buchanan[1] was inaugurated the Supreme Court of the United States rendered the famous Dred Scott Decision which provoked the radicals of the North to denounce the highest tribunal of the land. Dred Scott was a Missouri slave belonging to an army surgeon. He had been taken by his master into the free state of Illinois and into the territory that later became the state of Minnesota. After his return to Missouri the negro was sold and he brought suit against his new owner for his freedom on the ground that residence in a free state and territory had made him a free man. Scott's case was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. This court, consisting of nine justices, declared that the negro, whether free or slave, was not a citizen of a state, nor of the United States and, therefore, could not bring suit in the United States court. According to the opinion of the court the case involved the constitutionality of the Missouri Compromise and the court held further that the territories were the common property of all the states; that a citizen of any state had the right to emigrate into them and carry and hold his slaves as any other property; that Congress had no right whatever to place any restriction on slavery in the terri-

JAMES BUCHANAN

[1]James Buchanan was born in Pennsylvania in 1791. He graduated from Dickinson College, and later studied law. He served as Congressman from Pennsylvania, Minister to Russia, as United States Senator, Secretary of State, and Minister to England. He died, 1868.

tories. This decision upheld in all respects the theory of Southern statesmen on the question of slavery and condemned the doctrines of the new Republican party.

Mormon Uprising. Another important event in the year 1857 was a Mormon uprising. The Mormons had been compelled by public opinion to move steadily westward. Finally, in 1847, the whole body of Mormons went across the plains to Great Salt Lake and founded Salt Lake City. This country belonged to Mexico at the time, but by the Peace of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, it passed to the United States and in 1850 it was erected into the territory of Utah. The Mormons resisted the authority of the United States officials and drove them from the territory. In 1857 President Buchanan sent forces, under General Albert Sidney Johnston, to quell the disturbances and order was restored in Utah.

Lincoln-Douglas Debates, 1858. The slavery question was again acutely presented in the contest of Stephen A. Douglas, the Democratic candidate for re-election to the United States Senate from Illinois. He was opposed by Abraham Lincoln, the Republican candidate, a man of strong mind, and possessed of a fund of homely humor. Lincoln had already served several terms in the Illinois legislature and had been in the lower House of Congress where he opposed the Mexican War and supported the Wilmot Proviso. In the opening speech of his campaign he used these famous words: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe that this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the house to fall, but I expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one or all the other." In the summer of 1858 Lincoln challenged Douglas to a series of debates, and they arranged for seven meetings in different

parts of Illinois, the main issue being the slavery question. Douglas held to the view of popular sovereignty which he had advanced in the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, that is, that the people of a territory, under a territorial government, had the right to decide for themselves concerning the institution of slavery. Lincoln advocated the Republican doctrine that Congress should restrict slavery in the territories. The debates attracted widespread attention in Illinois and in the whole country. Douglas was re-elected to the Senate; but Lincoln had won a place of leadership in the Republican party. United States senators were then elected by the state legislatures and the purpose of the Lincoln-Douglas debates was to influence the people in their choice of the members of that body.

John Brown's Raid, 1859. In the latter part of 1859 an event occurred which caused profound alarm throughout the entire South. John Brown, known for his acts of lawlessness and violence in Kansas, had collected arms near Harper's Ferry, Virginia. With him was a band of reckless adventurers, some of them his former confederates in Kansas. His plan was to free the slaves, arm them, and lead them against their masters whose property he would seize. On the night of October 16, at the head of eighteen of his followers, five of whom were negroes, Brown seized the

HARPER'S FERRY —BEFORE THE BUILDING OF THE RAILROADS AND BRIDGES

arsenal at Harper's Ferry. He expected many negroes to join his band, but the slaves refused to revolt, and soon the raiders were surrounded by a force of militia and armed citizens. On October 18, a company of United States Marines under Lieutenant-Colonel Robert E. Lee arrived. After fighting with desperate courage Brown and several of his men were captured and ten of them were killed. He was tried in the Virginia courts on the charge of treason, murder, and inciting the slaves to rebellion and was convicted and hanged. Six of his companions suffered a like fate. Leading abolitionists who knew Brown's plans furnished him with the money for the undertaking, and in some parts of the North his deeds were praised and he was hailed as a hero and a martyr. In the South there was a widespread belief that the abolitionists would stop at nothing to destroy slavery and that united resistance was necessary to prevent interference with the domestic affairs of the states. The conviction that there must be security within the Union or separation would be necessary, grew rapidly in the South.

Presidential Election of 1860. While the affair at Harper's Ferry was vividly in the public mind, the Presidential election of 1860 came on and it proved to be the "parting of the ways" between the North and the South. There were four sets of candidates in the field. When the Democrats held their convention at Charleston, South Carolina, the Northern Democrats refused to endorse the Dred Scott Decision and the Southern members of the convention withdrew. The party was hopelessly divided into factions. The Northern wing nominated Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois for President and Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia for Vice President. The Southern Democrats met at Baltimore and chose John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky and

Joseph H. Lane of Oregon. The Republicans held their convention in Chicago, which was then a growing western city, and named Abraham Lincoln of Illinois for first place on the ticket and Hannibal Hamlin of Maine for second. The Constitutional Union party whose platform was "the Constitution of the country, the Union of the states, and the enforcement of the law," named John Bell of Tennessee and Edward Everett of Massachusetts.

Lincoln and Hamlin were elected. They received hardly more than one-third of the popular vote, though they had received one hundred and eighty electoral votes, while Breckinridge had received seventy-two, Bell thirty-nine, and Douglas twelve. Lincoln received not a single electoral vote south of Mason and Dixon's line and was our first sectional President. Thirty-three states participated in the Presidential election of 1860. Since the admission of California, two other states had come into the Union; Minnesota in 1858, and Oregon in 1859.

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

1. What happened to make it necessary to decide at once the question of slavery in the new territory?
2. Why did Webster favor the Compromise of 1850?
3. How was the Texas boundary involved in the slavery question?
4. With regard to what constitutional provision had the North failed to keep the compact between the states?
5. How many States in all have nullified or threatened to nullify federal laws?
6. Which was Douglas more interested in, the slavery issue or the railroad?
7. How was Lincoln a sectional and a minority President?
8. Was slavery a moral or a political question, or both?
9. Was slavery not also to some extent a race question?

CHAPTER XX

SECESSION AND THE CONFEDERACY

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President U. S. A., 1861-1865.
HANNIBAL HAMLIN, Vice President U. S. A., 1861-1865.
JEFFERSON DAVIS, President C. S. A., 1861-1865.
ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS, Vice President, C. S. A., 1861-1865.

Southern Grievances. The election of Lincoln was regarded by the South as the culmination of a long list of grievances. Her constitutional rights had been ignored; a persistent effort had been made to exclude her citizens from the territories which were the common property of all the States; the fugitive slave law had been nullified; Southern institutions had been misrepresented and Southern homes endangered through the misguided zeal of the abolitionists. The victory of a sectional party hostile to her interests was considered a menace to her security and prosperity. The only solution seemed to be for the Southern states to secede from the Union and resume the powers which they had delegated to the federal government. There were some in the South, however, who, although they believed in the right of a state to secede, thought it would be better to remain in the Union and test the justice of Lincoln's administration.

Secession of the First Seven States. South Carolina was the first to act. The legislature which had assembled to choose the Presidential electors (South Carolina was the only state which still used this method) remained in session until the result was known and then called a con-

vention of the people to meet at Charleston. On December 20, 1860, this body repealed the ordinance by which South Carolina had ratified the Constitution in 1787, and the subsequent ordinances ratifying the several amendments to the Constitution, and solemnly declared the Union formerly existing between South Carolina and the other states to be dissolved. By February 1, six other states, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas had seceded. Conventions of the people passed secession ordinances in all of these states, and in Texas the action of the convention was ratified by the popular vote. As the Southern states seceded, their citizens who held federal offices resigned. Senators, representatives in Congress, cabinet officers, and army and navy officers, went home and offered their services to the Confederacy.

Organization of the Confederate Government. The same conventions that framed the ordinances of secession likewise chose delegates to a convention of all the seceded states which met at Montgomery, Alabama. On February 4, 1861, delegates assembled from six of the states; those from Texas did not arrive until after the result of the popular vote was known and Texas was admitted to the Confederacy on March 2, the anniversary of Texan independence. On February 8, a provisional constitution was adopted for the new union which was called the Confederate States of America.

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS

Jefferson Davis[1] of Mississippi was chosen Provisional President and Alexander H. Stephens[2] of Georgia Provisional Vice President.

On February 18, in the presence of a vast throng, at Montgomery, the new President took the oath of office, and soon the "Stars and Bars," the flag of the Confederacy, was raised over the capitol. The Constitution was later ratified by the separate states in conventions assembled, and the President and Vice President were formally elected by the people. President Davis, in his inaugural address, briefly reviewed the causes which had made necessary the formation of a new Union and declared that: "The Confederate states are anxious to cultivate peace and commerce with all nations. Through many years of controversy with our late associates, the Northern states, we have vainly endeavored to secure tranquillity and to obtain respect for the rights to which we are entitled. As a necessity, not a choice, we have

[1]Jefferson Davis was born in Kentucky in 1808, but while he was in his infancy the family moved to Mississippi. Graduated from West Point in 1828, he served in the federal army until 1835 when he resigned and settled as a planter near Vicksburg, Mississippi. He commanded the Mississippi Rifles in the Mexican War and distinguished himself at Monterey and Buena Vista, being wounded in the latter battle. From 1847 to 1851, he was in the United States Senate and again from 1857 to 1861. Mr. Davis, after Calhoun, was the leader of the states rights party. He served the Confederacy with ability and unwearied devotion. The closing years of his life was spent at his modest but beautiful home, "Beauvoir," Mississippi. He died in New Orleans, December 6, 1889, and was buried there. In 1893 the body was removed to Richmond.

[2]Alexander H. Stephens was born in Georgia in 1812. His boyhood was one of poverty and toil. He was graduated from the University of Georgia, and after teaching school for a year was admitted to the practice of law at the age of twenty-two. Before the war he served his state as a member of the legislature and in Congress, where he distinguished himself as a keen debater on constitutional questions. At the close of the war he was imprisoned at Fort Warren, in Boston Harbor, until October, 1865. In 1873 he again became a member of the lower house of Congress from Georgia and held that office for nine years. He died in 1883, being governor of Georgia at the time. He ably presented the cause of the South in his work, *Constitutional View of the War Between the States.*

resorted to the remedy of separation. If a just perception of mutual interest shall permit us peaceably to pursue our separate political career, our most earnest desire will have been fulfilled; but if this be denied us, and the integrity of our territory and jurisdiction be assailed, it will but remain for us, with firm resolve, to appeal to arms and invoke the blessings of Providence on a just cause."

President Davis selected as members of his first cabinet: Robert Toombs of Georgia, Secretary of State; S. R. Mallory of Florida, Secretary of the Navy; Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana, Attorney-General; John H. Reagan of Texas, Postmaster-General; C. G. Memminger of South Carolina, Secretary of the Treasury; and L. P. Walker of Alabama, Secretary of War.

The Confederate Constitution. The new Constitution as a whole was much like the Constitution of the United States, but unlike it in making the term of office of President and Vice President six years with both ineligible for re-election, in emphasizing state sovereignty, in forbidding internal improvements by the general government, and in prohibiting a protective tariff. Senator Toombs asserted that the Southern citizens sought no new government, nor new institutions. They decided to form a new union because they felt that in no other way could they perpetuate the great principles of constitutional government which the fathers of the republic had established.

The Confederate Commissioners. Upon seceding the Southern states proceeded to take possession of the arsenals, forts, post-offices, and customhouses within their boundaries. The land on which such property was situated had been ceded by the respective states to the federal government; the property itself belonged to all the states in common. Soon only Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor,

Fort Pickens at Pensacola, and the fortifications near Key West remained in possession of the United States government. Commissioners were sent to the United States by South Carolina first, and then by the Confederacy, for the purpose of adjusting all questions of difference between the two governments. They were instructed to arrange for the purchase or transfer of federal property within the states, to adjust the national debt, to arrange for the division of the territory, and for the evacuation of forts still held by the United States troops. But no adjustment was made because the Northern states refused to recognize the rights of the Southern states to secede or to regard the Confederacy as an independent government.

Efforts at Compromise. On December 18, 1860, two days before South Carolina passed the ordinance of secession, Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky presented a plan of compromise which he hoped would save the Union. This compromise contained two main provisions: first, the Constitution was to be so amended that the Missouri Compromise line should be extended to the Pacific; second, a less objectionable fugitive slave law was to be passed and payment was to be made out of the federal treasury for fugitive slaves that could not be recovered. This compromise was conciliatory to both sections, but it was opposed in Congress and came to naught. Crittenden then proposed that the whole subject be submitted to a direct vote of the people, but this proposition also failed. Most statesmen had come to the belief that the time for compromise had passed.

The Peace Conference. The sympathies of the border states were with the South but they earnestly hoped for reconciliation. Virginia invited all the states to send delegates to a Peace Conference at Washington. This body

assembled on February 4, 1861, and twenty-one states were represented, fourteen from the North and seven from the South. The seven which had seceded sent no delegates. John Tyler, former President of the United States, presided over this convention and a plan of compromise was adopted similar to the Crittenden Compromise. Congress rejected the recommendations of the convention and nothing came of the Peace Conference.

President Buchanan and The Star of the West. President Buchanan desired to avert a clash before the close of his term. His sympathies were largely with the South, and in his message to the Congress that assembled in December, 1860, he stated that the personal liberty laws passed by the Northern states and the underground railway had given the South just cause for complaint. He denied the right of secession, but at the same time he knew of no constitutional power by which the federal government could coerce a state.

But the question of federal property in the seceded states seemed to demand a speedy solution. Major Robert Anderson, with a small detachment of federal troops, was stationed at Fort Sumter, and, in spite of repeated and insistent demands for its surrender by South Carolina, President Buchanan resolved to hold the fort. An evacuation, he considered, would be regarded as a recognition of the independence of South Carolina. On the other hand, the re-enforcement of Major Anderson with provisions and men would be an act of war from the standpoint of the South. Notwithstanding this consideration, a merchant vessel, *The Star of the West,* was dispatched with troops and provisions for Anderson's relief, but as the vessel approached Charleston Harbor she was obliged to turn back under fire from the South Carolina batteries.

Lincoln's Inaugural. At length, March 4 came and Lincoln[1] was inaugurated President of the United States. Probably no man was ever inducted into this high office under more trying circumstances. The country was in confusion and many of Lincoln's friends thought that in the excitement of the times his life was in danger, and for this reason he traveled secretly from Philadelphia to Baltimore, in order to elude possible assassins. In his inaugural address the new President seemed deeply impressed with his grave responsibilities. He declared that no state could "lawfully get out of the Union"; that he had no purpose directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it already existed; and he announced that he would hold "all places belonging to the government and collect the duties and imposts." The last amounted to a declaration of offensive war and so the South regarded it.

Lincoln made William H. Seward his Secretary of State and this official suggested an aggressive foreign policy in the hope that all the states might rally together. He also informed, but unofficially, the Confederate commissioners then in Washington that Fort Sumter would be evacuated.

Fall of Fort Sumter. Early in April, President Lincoln sent word to Governor Pickens of South Carolina that provisions and troops would be sent to the relief of Major Anderson. The relief squadron consisted of eight armed vessels and twenty-four hundred men. The arrival of the federal fleet was the signal for war. General P. G. T.

[1]Abraham Lincoln was born in Kentucky in 1809. His father moved to Indiana in 1816 and to Illinois in 1830. As a boy, Lincoln had very few advantages, but he grew up with all the vigor of the frontier. In 1832 he served in the Black Hawk War. Failing as a merchant, he studied law and was elected to the legislature in 1834, and again in 1836, and in 1846 to the lower house of Congress on the Whig ticket. Lincoln's life from 1861 to 1865 is bound up in the great struggle between the North and the South.

Beauregard, who had been placed in charge of the defense of Charleston, was ordered to demand the surrender of the fort. Major Anderson refused and at five o'clock on the morning of April 12, 1861, the Confederate batteries opened fire. Anderson made a gallant defense, but the fort caught fire from the bursting of its own shells and on April 14 he surrendered. The little garrison retired from the fort with colors flying. Not a man was killed on either side during the action, but as the federal troops were saluting their flag a cannon burst and one soldier was killed and several were wounded. Fort Sumter was in the hands of the Confederates and the long and terrible War Between the States had begun.

The Call for Volunteers. Other Preparations. The news of the fall of Fort Sumter aroused both the North and the South. On April 15, President Lincoln by proclamation called for seventy-five thousand volunteers to enforce the laws of the Union in the seceded states, and throughout the North the response was prompt and enthusiastic. Four days later Lincoln issued another proclamation declaring a blockade of the southern coast and declaring also that any persons acting under the authority of the Confederacy who should attack the vessels of the United States would be treated as pirates. The Federal Congress made it a crime for any person either by land or by water to trade with the people of the seceded states.

President Davis issued a call for one hundred thousand volunteers and the response was immediate. He also issued letters of marque and reprisal and commissioned privateers to seize the goods and vessels of the United States. Perhaps neither side realized the magnitude of the struggle upon which they were entering. Each thought that after a little show of force the other would yield.

Secession of Four More States. Lincoln's call for volunteers to force the seceded states back into the Union caused intense excitement in the Southern states which were still in the Union, to-wit, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina. Four of these states, Arkansas, North Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee, rather than join in making war on their

CONFEDERATE CAPITOLS AT MONTGOMERY AND AT RICHMOND

sister states to the south, withdrew from the Union and joined the Southern Confederacy. The mountaineers of East Tennessee were strongly in sympathy with the Union cause, but they could not prevent the secession of the state. The Confederate capital was removed from Montgomery to Richmond.

The Right of Secession. Sectional strife had at last broken asunder the bonds of union. The contest over slavery was the occasion for the breach. Throughout the

South there was a strong attachment for the Union, the establishment and development of which had been due in large part to her statesmen and soldiers. But the South's devotion to the Constitution, her material interests, and the peace of her people were superior to her attachment to the Union. As we have already noted, the right of secession from the earliest discussions of the relations of the states was regarded as reserved; had this not been understood at the time of the formation of the Union, it is doubtful whether the Constitution would have been adopted. Understanding the fact that the right to secede was thus understood without being expressly declared in the Constitution, three of the states, Virginia, New York, and Rhode Island, affirmed in their ordinances of ratification that each state could resume its delegated powers if this should become necessary to the welfare of its people. During the first four or five decades of the Union the right of secession was proclaimed again and again. Believing that the growing power of the South and the West was dangerous to her interests, Massachusetts threatened secession in 1803 at the time of the Louisiana Purchase, and again in 1812, at the time of the admission of the state of Louisiana. In 1814 the Hartford Convention, in which all the New England states were represented, seriously considered withdrawal from the Union. Even as late as 1845 the Massachusetts legislature had resolved that the annexation of Texas would justify secession. South Carolina, in 1832, when she nullified the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832, asserted the right. At West Point the right of secession was plainly taught and "that the interposition of the federal government would not be justifiable if a state should determine to withdraw from the Union." The South, in 1861, merely did what other sections had threat-

ened at former times because in her view the conditions of the compact had been violated. From the Southern standpoint the Union had always been a federal republic composed of sovereign states, and the individual citizen owed his first allegiance to the state. So strong was the feeling of allegiance to the state that many citizens of the South who opposed secession as a matter of policy felt in duty bound to follow their states in secession. One of these was Alexander H. Stephens, Vice President of the Confederacy. He upheld the right of secession, though he doubted its wisdom; and when Georgia seceded, he went with his state.

Attitude of the North. At the North, while the abolitionists had openly rejoiced that the slave-holding states had withdrawn from the Union, the general feeling toward secession was one of surprise and regret. There were conflicting views as to what should be done in the crisis. Many people, while deploring secession, conceded it as a right and they could see no power under the Constitution whereby the federal government could force a state to return to the Union; to these there seemed nothing to do but to let the seceding states "depart in peace."

But after the attack upon Fort Sumter the people felt that the Union must be preserved. Throughout the North, and more particularly in the West, where the people had looked to the federal government for aid and protection before their state governments were formed, there had grown up a strong feeling of loyalty to the Union, rather than to the state. Daniel Webster's view, presented in his great debate with Hayne in 1830, that the federal government is supreme and that the states are subordinate, came to be generally accepted as the correct theory of the Union. This change in political thought was due to

altered conditions. The South had, from the formation of the Union, remained an agricultural section, but the North had become a great industrial section which looked to the United States government for aid under a protective tariff.

Two Points of View. Thus the differences between the sections were marked not only by contrary interests, but by conflicting conceptions of the nature of the federal government under the Constitution. One section thought the Union was a band of states, while the other section considered it a banded state. The people of the South did not understand the North's loyalty to the Union. The people of the North did not comprehend Southern devotion to statehood. The eleven states that had seceded claimed the right of self-determination; they were fighting for their independence, not for a redress of grievances, because secession in their view had accomplished that. Their attitude was that of a nation repelling dismemberment and conquest. They felt that it was their duty to resist the invader; to uphold the new Union which they had formed and to which they had sworn allegiance; to defend their states and to protect their homes. The twenty-two states were fighting to maintain the Union and force back the seceded states. Thus American was fighting against American, each with a totally different conception of the war, and each convinced that his cause was right and just.

Population of the North and the South. In most respects the belligerents were unequally matched. The population of the twenty-two Northern states in 1860 was about twenty-three millions, of whom fewer than one-half million were negro slaves. The eleven states of the Confederacy had a population of nine millions, but only five and a half millions were whites. Many Southern troops came from

Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, states outside the Confederacy; but on the other hand, many men went into the Northern army from western Virginia and eastern Tennessee. Thus it will be seen that in fighting population from the standpoint of numbers, the South was at a great disadvantage from the outset.

The population of the South was almost entirely rural, New Orleans being the only large city within the borders of the Confederacy. Her people were possessed of a martial spirit; they were accustomed to outdoor life and physical exertion, qualities which prove valuable in making good soldiers. The population of the North and the West was becoming more urban. New York City numbered 800,000 and other northern cities were steadily growing. These city-bred men made good soldiers after they were hardened by the training, and they filled the busy workshops of the North upon which victory would depend as well as upon the battle-line. In the nature of things, the South had to use practically her entire fighting population for her defense, and only old men, women, children, and negro slaves were left at home to raise the crops upon which the Southern people subsisted during the war.

Resources of the North and the South. Besides its advantages in numbers the North possessed far greater resources than the South. Her industries were varied. The farms produced food in abundance and in the factories and foundries were made the articles needed for the life of the people and for the maintenance of the armies. The ready money and the open ports of the North put the resources of the world at her command. The navy of the United States was small, but the government immediately began constructing and purchasing new warships. In the South, on the other hand, there was one great crop, cotton;

STATES CONTROLLED BY FE

AND BY CONFEDERATES IN 1861

there were few factories, no powder mills, and only one foundry that could cast heavy cannon. When volunteers responded to President Davis' call there were not rifles enough to arm them. The Confederacy had not a single warship and there were over thirty-five hundred miles of seacoast and almost two hundred river and harbor openings to protect.

Courage and Hope of the South. But the South was full of courage and hope. She was on the defensive and this was a point greatly in her favor. From the beginning she was fortunate in possessing trained officers. When the states seceded over three hundred officers "went with their states," among these was Robert E. Lee of Virginia, "the greatest general the English-speaking peoples have produced." He was offered the command of the Union armies, but, while opposed to secession, he declined. He declared that he could not raise his hand against his native Virginia.

With the limited means at hand the South was able to create some machine shops and foundries for the manufacture of shot and shell and cannon. This was largely the work of John M. Brooke, whose greatest achievement, however, was building for the Confederacy the first ironclad to go forth to battle. Through the knowledge and skill of John and Joseph LeConte, two distinguished chemists, the South was enabled to use her niter beds in the manufacture of gunpowder. Efforts were made to construct a navy and to defend her ports. In this branch of the service the Confederacy likewise had many trained officers who had left the federal service upon the secession of their states. Small, low, compactly-built craft were designed to run the blockade and some cruisers were built abroad. Matthew Fontaine Maury, one

of the most distinguished scientists of the country, who had been head of the Naval Observatory at Washington, resigned to serve the Confederacy. He contrived mines and torpedoes in the southern harbors which proved formidable to blockading squadrons.

But the South depended chiefly upon her cotton for the means to buy arms and other necessary supplies from the outside world. She believed that the world could not long do without her great staple, and on this she based her hope of foreign recognition. Great Britain, the chief commercial power of the world, in May, 1861, issued a proclamation of neutrality which in effect recognized the Confederates as belligerents, thus giving their cruisers the right to take refuge in foreign harbors. Other European nations soon followed the example of England.

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

1. State the causes of secession.
2. State the cause of the War Between the States.
3. Give the first area of secession; the second.
4. Were Southern men seeking a new government, or a clearer statement of what they considered their rights under the old government?
5. What had been the attitude of the original thirteen states toward the right of secession?
6. Why did Alexander H. Stephens and some other Southern leaders oppose secession?
7. What view did calmer men of the North take of the secession movement?
8. What events overthrew that view?
9. Why did all efforts at compromise fail?
10. What did each side expect as to the length of the war?

CHAPTER XXI

THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES. TWO YEARS OF WAR 1861-1862

General Plans of Invasion and Defense. The northern frontier of the Confederacy extended from the Potomac on the East across the Appalachian Mountains and westward through Tennessee to the Mississippi. The Shenandoah Valley, valuable to the South as a source of supplies, and the Confederate capital were strategic points of defense in the East. Confederate forces were stationed at Norfolk to guard the approach to Richmond by water; at Manassas Junction, which controlled two railroad lines, one leading southward to the Confederate capital, the other westward to the Shenandoah Valley, and at Harper's Ferry to guard the approach to the valley from the north. The plan of the North was to break through the Confederate lines and take the Southern capital. In the West the line of defense extended through southern Kentucky and Tennessee and down the whole length of the Mississippi. The Confederates held Bowling Green, which controlled the railroads leading to Nashville. Fort Henry on the Tennessee and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland, only twelve miles apart, were well manned in order to guard the Tennessee and Cumberland valleys, two important highways into the South. The Confederates began the erection of forts south of New Orleans to guard the mouth of the Mississippi River and defenses were to be constructed at other points. Preparations were made for the defense of important coast towns such as Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, and Galveston, for with the rapid ship-building under construction in the United States the blockade

would become a greater and greater danger. Federal forces were stationed at Louisville, Cairo, and other points ready for the drive which was to push the Confederate lines farther and farther southward.

The Border States. The war began in the border states. There was a deep feeling of loyalty to the Union in Delaware, but the secessionists and unionists were about equally divided in Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri. In Maryland, while the unionists kept the state from seceding, there was nevertheless a strong sympathy with the South. When a Massachusetts regiment passed through Baltimore on April 19, on their way to Washington in response to Lincoln's call for troops, the people attacked them in the streets of the city. Several were killed on both sides, and here was shed the first blood of the war. Kentucky did not secede, but she declared that she would not join in a war against the South. The State was represented in both Federal and Confederate Congresses.

Struggle for West Virginia. The western counties of Virginia were strongly unionist in sympathy and the people established a separate state government and sent senators and representatives to the Federal Congress. General George B. McClellan with a force of 20,000 Federals defeated the Confederate forces under General Robert E. Lee[1] in a series of skirmishes covering but a

[1]Robert Edward Lee, the son of "Light Horse Harry" Lee of Revolutionary days, was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, in 1807. Andrew Jackson secured him an appointment to West Point, and in 1829 he graduated from this institution. From 1852 to 1855 he was superintendent of West Point and later served as lieutenant-colonel of the second cavalry. His soldiers affectionately called him "Marse Robert." Impartial critics rank him as America's greatest general. After the war Lee was made president of Washington University at Lexington, Virginia, and this institution after his death was called Washington and Lee University. He died in 1870.

few weeks and ending in the battle of Rich Mountain on July 11, 1861, and held this part of Virginia for the Union. Notwithstanding the provision of the Constitution of the United States which expressly declares that a state cannot be formed out of another state "without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned as well as of Congress," the Federal government ratified the action of the people of the western counties and the state of West Virginia was admitted to the Union in 1863.

GENERAL GEORGE B. M'CLELLAN

The Contest Over Missouri. In Missouri a considerable element was in favor of joining the Confederacy, and an ordinance of secession was passed. Many of the people, however, opposed secession and maintained their state government. The Confederates were driven out of the northern part of the state, but near the southern line General Sterling Price, with re-enforcements from Arkansas and Texas under General Ben McCulloch, defeated the Federals in the battle of Wilson's Creek, or Oak Hills, on August 10. Missouri, like Kentucky, was represented in both Federal and Confederate Congresses. The state was the scene of bitter guerilla warfare throughout the war.

Battle of Manassas or Bull Run. While this contest over the border states was in progress, the Federal armies had made the first attempt to break through the Confederate

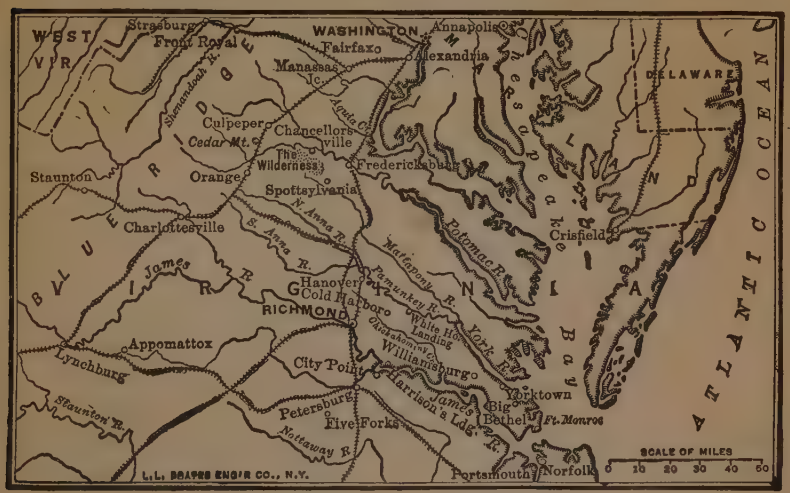
defenses in the East and take Richmond. General McDowell, acting under General Winfield Scott, the commander-in-chief of all the Federal forces, with an army of thirty-five thousand, moved southward in July to attack General Beauregard who was at Manassas Junction. Union forces stationed at Fortress Monroe and in western Maryland were to prevent aid being sent to Beauregard. The Confederates were entrenched at Bull Run Creek, a tributary of the Potomac, in a line about eight miles long defending seven fords and a bridge. General Joseph E. Johnston[1], commander-in-chief of the Confederate forces in the East, who was at Harper's Ferry, stole a march on the enemy and reached Manassas in time for the battle, swelling Beauregard's army to about thirty thousand.[2] On the morning of July 21, McDowell made the attack. The brigades of Generals Bee and Evans fell back in confusion and it appeared as if the Confederates would be defeated. But they rallied when Bee, pointing to Jackson's men standing firm before the Federal advance, cried, "See where Jackson stands like a stone wall. Rally

GENERAL JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON

[1]Joseph E. Johnston was born in Virginia in 1807. His father served under "Light Horse Harry" Lee and his mother was a niece of Patrick Henry. He was at West Point with Lee, and later fought in several Indian wars, and was with Scott in Mexico. After the war he served Virginia in Congress. He died in 1891 at Washington, D. C.

[2]Numbers of those engaged in battle and losses are approximate throughout.

around the Virginians. Let us determine to die here and we will conquer." Thenceforth General Thomas J. Jackson, one of the greatest of the Southern leaders, was known as "Stonewall Jackson." At this juncture the remainder of Johnston's valley troops arrived and turned the tide of battle. The Confederates pressed forward and the Federal troops, panic-stricken, fled from the field in a complete rout. There had been great enthusiasm in the North over the prospect of this battle and a vast crowd had come out



MOVEMENTS OF ARMIES, 1861

from Washington to "see the rebels run." These spectators joined the Federal troops in their flight and did not stop until they reached the capital.

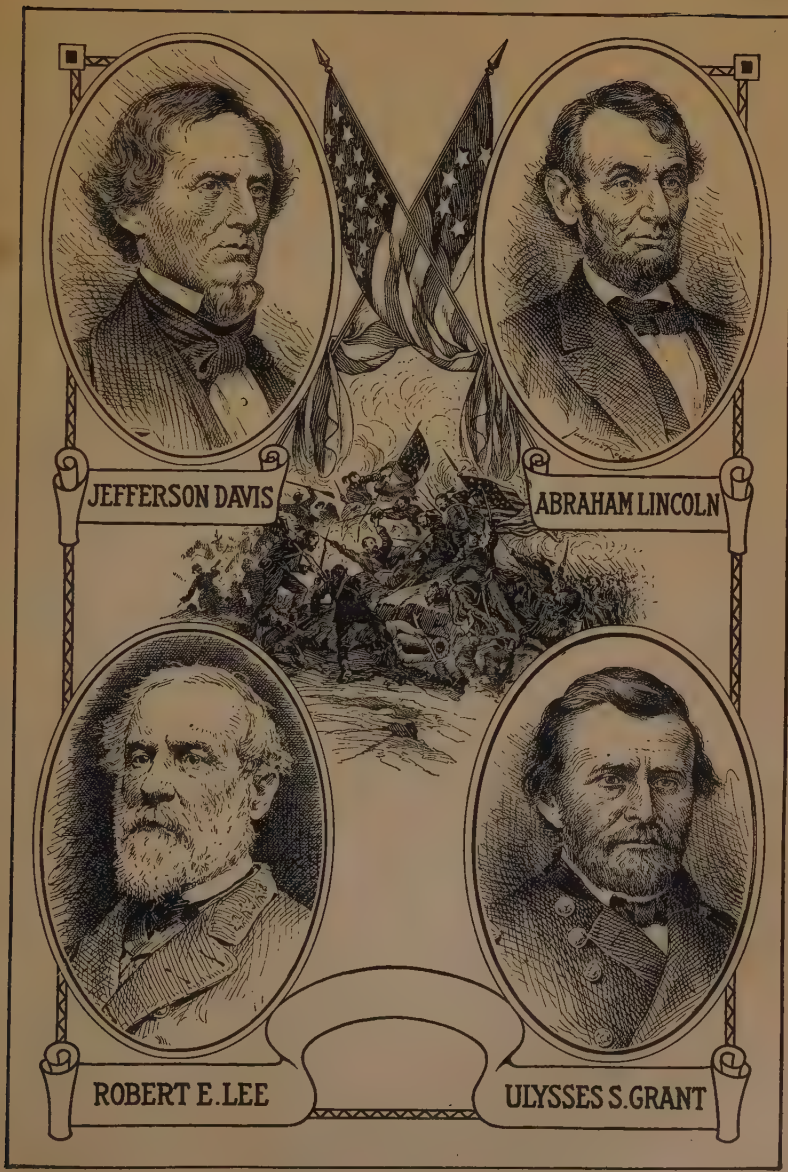
After Manassas the two armies remained facing each other in northern Virginia for nearly a year and they both occupied the time in drilling their troops into effective fighting forces. General McDowell was superseded by General George B. McClellan, who was made commander-

in-chief of the Federal forces upon the resignation of General Scott in November, 1861.

Effect of the Battle. At the South the victory of Bull Run, or the first battle of Manassas, caused unbounded joy and too great a feeling of confidence in the final outcome. Many of the volunteers believed that the war was practically over and returned to their homes, but the leaders of the South realized that the struggle had hardly begun. In the North there was a deep feeling of gloom and humiliation. On July 4, the Federal Congress, in special session, voted to call for 500,000 volunteers and to raise $250,000,000 for the expenses of the war.

Blockade Running. During the year 1861 the Confederacy managed to keep in touch with the outside world in spite of the blockading squadrons that were patrolling her coasts. The daring little blockade runners, laden with cargoes of cotton, would dart out of the ports and return with ammunition and necessary articles of commerce. Confederate privateers began early to work great damage upon the merchant ships of the North. A few Confederate vessels had been built, the chief being the *Sumter* and the *Nashville*. In order to intercept blockade runners and to gain possession of some Southern harbors as coaling and supply stations, Federal naval expeditions were undertaken along the Atlantic coast. In 1861 Fort Hatteras in North Carolina and Port Royal in South Carolina were taken by the Federals.

The Trent Affair. A serious foreign complication arose before the eventful year 1861 came to an end. The Confederacy was anxious to secure recognition of her independence and to obtain aid from foreign powers, especially from England. President Davis sent James M. Mason of Virginia and John Slidell of Louisiana as commissioners to



THE FOUR GREAT LEADERS IN THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES

London and Paris respectively. They ran the blockade at Charleston harbor at midnight, October 12, 1861, and reached Havana in safety. Here they embarked on the British mail steamer *Trent* for England. On November 8, the *Trent* was fired upon by the United States man-of-war *San Jacinto,* the two Confederate commissioners and their secretaries were seized and carried to Boston harbor and confined in Fort Warren as prisoners of war. This proceeding was a violation of the rights of neutrals, a principle for which we had fought in the War of 1812. There was a great rejoicing in the North over the event and Congress tendered a vote of thanks to Captain Wilkes of the *San Jacinto.* But in England there was an outburst of resentment at this indignity to the British flag. Great Britain demanded the surrender of the prisoners and an apology, allowing the United States but seven days to make reparation. This was practically a threat of war. The United States yielded the point and released the prisoners, who then proceeded on their way to England.

The Situation at the Close of 1861. The year closed with "all quiet along the Potomac" and the James. The Federal troops had prevented the secession of the border states and upheld the Union in western Virginia. The two important battles of the year, Manassas and Wilson's Creek, were victories for the South. The year 1862 opened with the northern frontier of the Confederacy still intact.

Battle of Mill Spring. The entire line of defense in the West was under the command of General Albert Sidney Johnston of Texas, then reputed to be the ablest of the Confederate generals. Opposed to him were two Union armies. One consisted of one hundred thousand men under General Don Carlos Buell in central Kentucky; the other consisting of fifteen thousand men under General

Ulysses S. Grant,[1] was stationed at Cairo, Illinois. On January 19, General George H. Thomas, commanding a division of Buell's army, was attacked by the Confederate force at Mill Spring on the Cumberland. The Confederates lost the battle and their leader, General Felix Zollicoffer, was killed.

Fall of Fort Henry and Fort Donelson. In February Grant's army and a fleet of seventeen gunboats commanded by Commodore Foote steamed up the Tennessee against Fort Henry. The army attacked the fort by land while the gunboats shelled it from the water side. Most of the garrison, which consisted of fewer than three thousand men, escaped across the country to Fort Donelson, leaving only a company of artillery to defend the fort. After a few days the little force was compelled to surrender. Grant and Foote, with about thirty thousand men, next moved against Fort Donelson, where there were about sixteen thousand Confederates under Generals Floyd, Pillow and Buckner. The Confederates made a brilliant attack, disabled several of Foote's gunboats, and planned to cut their way out to Nashville. But Grant with the determination which made him famous checked the movement, forced the Confederates back into the fort, and demanded their "unconditional surrender." About fifteen thousand prisoners, the stores and ammunition of the Confederates were captured. Grant lost heavily in the engagement.

Shrinking of the Confederate Frontier. Columbus and other points in Kentucky were evacuated and the Confederate line of defense in the West now had to be pushed two hundred miles farther south, in Tennessee, extending

[1]Ulysses S. Grant was born in Ohio in 1823. He was graduated at West Point in 1843. Resigning from the army in 1854, he went into business but was never successful. His victories during the war made him a popular hero in the North. He died in 1885.

from Memphis to Corinth and thence to Chattanooga. Buell took up his position in Nashville, but not until the Confederates had destroyed their stores. President Lincoln made Andrew Johnson military governor of Tennessee. The fall of Forts Henry and Donelson were the first victories of any importance won by the Federals and there was great rejoicing in the North. The country now became interested in "Unconditional Surrender Grant."

Battle of Shiloh. By the first of April General Grant with an army of forty thousand had moved up the Tennessee River and was encamped at Shiloh church about two miles from Pittsburg Landing in southern Tennessee. His plan was to take Corinth, an important railway point, in northern Mississippi. General Johnston,[1] who was stationed at Corinth with a force of forty thousand, moved stealthily forward and on Sunday morning, April 6, fell upon the surprised Federals. At the close of the first day's fighting the advantage was with the Confederates. The Federal army was driven back to the river and the camps which they had occupied were in possession of the Confederates. The

GENERAL ALBERT SIDNEY JOHNSTON

[1]Albert Sidney Johnston was born in Kentucky in 1803. He was a graduate of West Point and fought in the Black Hawk War. He served in the Texas war for independence and in 1838 was appointed Secretary of War for the Republic of Texas. He also served in the Mexican War and at the outbreak of the War Between the States he was in command of the Department of the Pacific. On the secession of Texas he resigned his commission and entered the service of the Confederacy. In the battle of Shiloh an artery in his leg was severed, but he continued in the saddle cheering his men. He finally fainted from weakness and was taken from his horse, dying in a few minutes.

losses on both sides were heavy and especially with the Confederates, for they lost their great commander, Albert Sidney Johnston. General Beauregard, who was now in the West, took command. Buell meanwhile came up with twenty-five thousand fresh troops and the weary Confederates were outnumbered nearly two to one. On Monday they slowly retired from the field. Shiloh was the greatest battle of the war so far. The slaughter was terrific; the Federals lost thirteen thousand out of about seventy thousand engaged; the Confederates lost eleven thousand of their forty thousand.

Evacuation of Corinth and Opening of the Upper Mississippi. General Beauregard moved to Corinth which the Confederates had strongly fortified. An army under General Van Dorn, a part of it being about thirty-five hundred Indians, had been defeated at Pea Ridge or Elk Horn in Arkansas. These troops now crossed the Mississippi and re-enforced Beauregard. But upon the approach of General Halleck, whose army outnumbered them two to one, the Confederates evacuated Corinth on May 13, and retired to Tupelo, a point controlling the railroad leading to Mobile. The taking of Corinth broke down the second Confederate line of defense and gave the Federals possession of the western end of the only railroad in the South which directly connected the Mississippi River with the Atlantic seaboard. A Federal force under General John Pope, supported by gunboats under Commodore Foote, captured the Confederate fortifications on the Mississippi at New Madrid and Island No. 10. Next, Memphis and Fort Pillow fell and the Federals had opened the Mississippi as far south as Vicksburg.

Defense of New Orleans. In the lower Mississippi the Federals were successful also. New Orleans, which con-

trolled the entrance to the river, was a point of great importance to the Confederacy. It was a commercial center, and here also were cannon foundries which were of inestimable value to the South. About seventy-five miles below the city the Confederates had erected two forts on opposite sides of the river, Fort Jackson and Fort St. Phillip, each garrisoned by a few hundred men and each provided with heavy guns. Between the two forts across the half-mile current six heavy chains were stretched, supported by a great raft of cypress logs, so that the river was completely closed. Above the forts there was a Confederate naval force consisting of gunboats and ironclad rams under Commodore Mitchell. Floating and shore batteries extended as far as New Orleans. The *Louisiana,* an ironclad warship of the Confederates, was unfinished.

ADMIRAL DAVID G. FARRAGUT

Farragut's Attack on New Orleans. Before the Confederates had completed their defense, the most powerful naval force that the United States had ever mustered bore down upon the city. The fleet which consisted of forty-seven armed vessels, eight of them being powerful sloops of war, was commanded by Admiral Farragut. On April 18, the bombardment of the forts began and continued for six days without effect. At last two of the Federal gunboats stole up to the forts on a dark

night and cut the chains, and Farragut's fleet started up the river. The Confederates lighted huge fires on the river banks and sent fire rafts of pine knots down the stream. Broadside after broadside was poured into the Federal vessels which could be plainly seen in the fire-lit river. By daybreak Farragut[1] had destroyed the little Confederate fleet, got past the forts, and was steaming up to New Orleans. On May 1, the city surrendered, the inhabitants first destroying an immense quantity of cotton to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy. General B. F. Butler with eighteen thousand troops was put in command. The Confederates still held Vicksburg and Port Hudson on the Mississippi, which controlled the mouth of Red River, and the supplies of corn and cattle that were necessary for the sustenance of the armies could be brought from Texas and Arkansas.

The Peninsula Campaign. In March, 1862, the second campaign against Richmond was begun. General McClellan[2], with his thoroughly drilled and disciplined force known as the Army of the Potomac, decided that the best line of advance was to go by way of the Chesapeake and up the old Revolutionary fighting ground, the peninsula between the York and the James rivers. General McDowell was left at Fredericksburg to protect Washington, but was to join McClellan as soon as the Confederate forces were concentrated around Richmond. Scattered Federal armies were also left in the Shenandoah valley.

[1]David G. Farragut was born in Tennessee in 1801. He had been in the naval service since childhood and served on the *Essex* in the War of 1812. When the War Between the States broke out, he remained in the old service. He died in 1870.

[2]George B. McClellan was born in Pennsylvania in 1826. He was graduated at West Point in 1846. He held the rank of lieutenant in the Mexican War, and in 1848 was made an instructor at West Point. McClellan's soldiers affectionately called him "Little Mac." He died in 1885.

The Merrimac's Work of Destruction. A command of the lower bay and of Hampton Roads was necessary to the success of McClellan's plan and this was seriously threatened by the appearance of the Confederate ironclad, the *Virginia.* In 1861, when the shipyards at Norfolk were abandoned by the Union forces, the steam frigate *Merrimac,* one of the most formidable vessels in the old navy, was partly burned and sunk to prevent her capture. But the vessel was raised by the Confederates and converted into an ironclad after the plan of Captain John M. Brooke. The ship was cut down to within three and one-half feet of the water line; a slanting roof covered with railroad iron formed her armor and she carried ten guns. The vessel was rechristened the *Virginia.* On March 8, this queer looking iron-bound monster steamed into Hampton Roads where several of the finest United States warships lay at anchor. She first tried her strength on the *Cumberland* and made such a hole in her side that "a horse and a cart might drive through" and the vessel quickly sank. The *Congress* was next attacked and went up in flames and other ships were put to flight. The *Merrimac* was practically uninjured in spite of the fact that one hundred guns from the fort had been centered upon her. Night came on, and terror and the *Merrimac* held sway in that beautiful Virginia harbor.

The Merrimac and the Monitor. The *Merrimac* had planned to finish her work the next day, but a new antagonist appeared, the *Monitor,* another ironclad. John Ericsson, the Swedish inventor, then in New York, built an ironclad vessel on a plan of his own. Her deck was almost flush with the water and she carried two of the most powerful guns then known in a strong revolving turret which gave a greater range than any ship hitherto

constructed. On the morning of March 9 the *Monitor,* looking very much like "a cheese box on a raft," steamed into Hampton Roads and engaged the *Merrimac* in a deadly duel. For four hours the combat raged; neither vessel seemed to make much impression upon the other. At length, the little *Monitor* sought the protection of the guns of the fort and withdrew into shallow water whither the *Merrimac* could not follow. Later, when the Confed-

ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE MERRIMAC AND THE MONITOR

erates abandoned Norfolk, the *Merrimac* was destroyed because she was of too deep draft to ascend the James River. In December, 1862, the *Monitor* foundered off Cape Hatteras. This duel between the ironclads revolutionized sea fighting the world over.

Yorktown, Williamsburg, and Seven Pines. McClellan with an army of a hundred thousand arrived at Fortress Monroe April 2, and marched to Yorktown which he besieged for a month. Johnston in the meantime had moved from Manassas to the Peninsula and early in May

he evacuated Yorktown and dropped back to Williamsburg where there was an indecisive engagement. McClellan's slow advance was of great value to the Confederates, for they employed the time in strengthening the fortifications of Richmond. The Federal gunboats, escorted by the *Monitor,* came up the James within eight miles of the city, while McClellan slowly advanced along the Chicka-

HAMPTON ROADS, HERE OCCURRED THE FIRST ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN IRONCLADS

hominy where he waited for McDowell to re-enforce him. But McDowell did not come and Johnston attacked immediately at Seven Pines or Fair Oaks just about nine miles from Richmond. On the first day the advantage was with the Confederates, but Johnston was severely wounded. The next day General Robert E. Lee, who had been acting as military adviser to President Davis, suc-

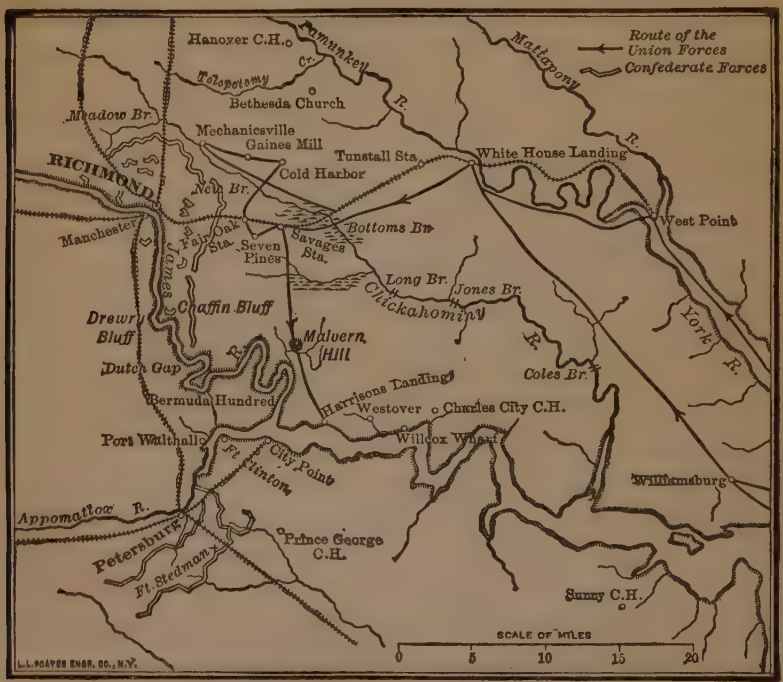
ceeded to the command. At the close of the battle neither side had gained a decided advantage.

Stonewall Jackson's Valley Campaign. Stonewall Jackson,[1] with not more than seventeen thousand men was in the Shenandoah Valley fighting the Federal troops scattered there and about Washington. General N. P. Banks was at Winchester with about twenty thousand and there were scattered detachments under General John C. Fremont, about another twenty thousand in all, guarding the passes into West Virginia. By quick marching and counter-marching Jackson completely mystified the foe. He routed a detachment of Fremont's army and prevented its union with Banks. He then swept rapidly down the valley, drove Banks into Maryland and frightened Washington City into a panic. McDowell was sent to aid in capturing the Confederates who were now moving southward. But Jackson, the "Wizard of the Shenandoah," eluded his enemies, defeated them at Port Republic and Cross Keys and then left the valley as swiftly and as mysteriously as he had come. He had so frightened Washington that troops intended for McClellan were withheld while he himself slipped out of the valley and joined Lee in the defense of Richmond. Within a month the "Foot Cavalry" had marched upwards of four hundred miles and routed three armies. This valley campaign ranks as one of the most brilliant in all history and it showed

[1]Thomas Jonathan Jackson was born in 1824, at Clarksburg, Virginia. Graduating from West Point in 1846, he served in the Mexican War. He resigned from the army in 1857 because he disliked war, and became a teacher in Lexington Military Institute. At the outbreak of the War between the States, Jackson was commissioned a colonel in command of Virginia troops; in September, 1861, he was made major-general. Jackson was a silent man of deeply religious nature and when he remained long at prayer his men knew that a great battle was pending. He was one of the greatest commanders of modern times, and was reckoned as the ablest of Lee's lieutenants.

Jackson to be a marvelous master of military strategy. It is studied in military schools on account of the great results achieved with small means.

Seven Days' Fight Around Richmond. After Jackson's return Lee struck at McClellan again. General J. E. B. Stuart, whom he sent on a daring cavalry raid around the



FIELD OF OPERATIONS DURING THE SEVEN-DAYS' FIGHTING

Federal army June 12 to 15, cut McClellan's communications and destroyed a large part of his supplies. From June 25 to July 1 with continuous fighting Lee and Jackson forced McClellan back to the James. The first battle was at Mechanicsville, and the Federals held their own. The next day the two armies met at Gaines Mill not far

from Cold Harbor and Lee won the victory. McClellan now began an orderly retreat to the river where he could be protected by his gunboats. The Confederates attacked the retreating army at Savage Station, White Oak Swamp, and Frazier's Farm. On the night of June 30, McClellan took up his position at Malvern Hill, where on the next day Lee attacked him. This was one of the most terrible battles of the war. About five thousand of Lee's men were either killed, wounded or captured, while McClellan lost only about a third of that number. But McClellan continued his retreat to Harrison's Landing on the James, Richmond was saved, and the Peninsula Campaign was a failure. The loss of the Confederates during the campaign was about nineteen thousand; of the Federals, about sixteen thousand.

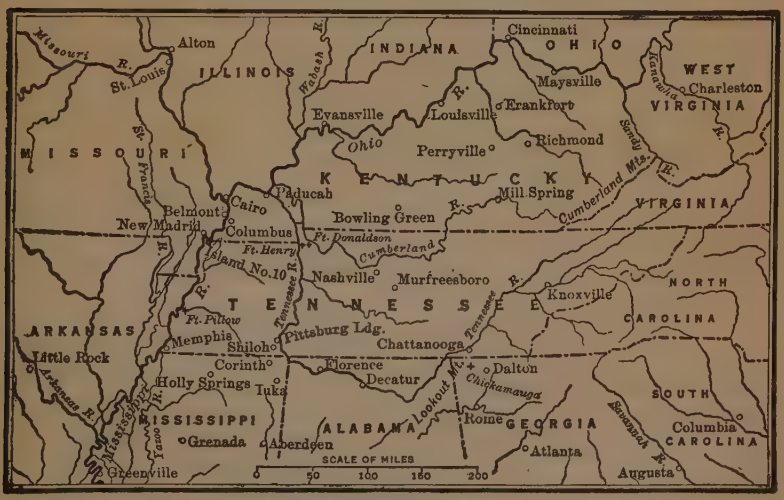
Second Battle of Manassas. In the North there was an intense feeling of discouragement, and a call was issued for more volunteers. Lincoln took two successful generals from the West; General Halleck was made the President's military adviser and the commander-in-chief of all the Federal armies; General John Pope was put in command of the defeated armies of Banks and Fremont that had been united with McDowell's. Pope was to protect McClellan's army as it retreated down the peninsula by an advance against Richmond over the route tried in 1861. To retard the advance of Pope, Lee sent about twelve thousand men northward under Jackson, uniting with him as soon as McClellan's army was embarked for Washington. They attacked Pope on the old battle ground of Manassas and drove his army from the field. For the second time victory smiled upon the Confederates at Bull Run. Within three months Lee had cleared Virginia of 200,000 troops, though he had less than half that number.

Battle of Antietam or Sharpsburg. Lee now planned to carry the war into Maryland and threaten Washington and Baltimore. A victory on Northern soil would perhaps secure foreign recognition, would hasten peace, and would give that no-man's land in Virginia a chance to recuperate from the ravages of war. Lee's ragged and bare-footed veterans marched northward singing *Maryland, My Maryland.* At Frederick City he divided his army and sent Jackson to capture Harper's Ferry in order to keep open his lines of communication. McClellan, who was again in command of the Federal army, moved rapidly northward to protect Washington, and forced Lee to turn to the West. The two armies met September 17, at Antietam Creek in western Maryland near the town of Sharpsburg. By the time the battle began Jackson had reunited with Lee, but the Confederate force was barely fifty thousand to match the Union army of more than eighty thousand. The carnage was frightful and each side left many thousand dead upon the battlefield. It was a drawn battle. Lee remained in possession of the field all next day, but McClellan did not attack again, and the Confederates re-crossed the Potomac and retired into Virginia with McClellan slowly following.

Battle of Fredericksburg. Again McClellan was superseded in command, this time by General Ambrose E. Burnside. The new commander's plan was to move southward to Fredericksburg, and push on to Richmond from that point. But he found Lee entrenched on the hills of the Rappahannock, with his center on Marye's Heights crowned with artillery making an impregnable position. Burnside crossed the river on the 13th of December, and with splendid courage stormed the Confederate position. The attack was a failure and the Federal dead lay in

heaps at the foot of the hill. This defeat plunged the North into gloom. Not until spring did the armies in the East take up again their deadly work.

Operations in the West. After the fall of New Orleans and the evacuation of Corinth in the spring of 1862, Vicksburg and Chattanooga were the most important points of the Confederate line of defense in the West. Against these two points the Union forces began to concentrate; Grant was to take Vicksburg; Buell, Chattanooga. But Morgan



CAMPAIGN AROUND PERRYVILLE

and Forrest and later Joe Wheeler with their cavalry rode through Kentucky and Tennessee spreading terror as they went, destroying Union stores, cutting wires and tearing up railroad tracks. Federal operations were almost paralyzed for the time.

Bragg's Dash Into Kentucky. Buell had hardly begun his move on Chattanooga before he was forced to give up and assume the defensive. General Braxton Bragg, who had

succeeded Beauregard in command of the Confederate armies in the West, slipped around the Union forces and moved his troops to Chattanooga. Making this point a base of operations, he planned the re-conquest of Tennessee and Kentucky, hoping to get recruits in the latter state and win it over to the Confederacy. Bragg moved his army northward headed for Louisville, the Union base of supplies, and at the same time General E. Kirby Smith moved from east Tennessee into central Kentucky and won a battle at Richmond. Buell started on a shorter line and raced with Bragg for Louisville, reaching it first. The Confederates turned about and as they moved southward swept the country for supplies. Buell followed, and on October 8 the two armies met in an indecisive battle at Perryville. Bragg returned to Chattanooga, while Buell took up his position at Nashville.

Battle of Iuka and Corinth. When Bragg moved into Kentucky he left Generals Price and Van Dorn with a strong force in northern Mississippi to watch Grant who was at Corinth. General Price seized Iuka, a village twenty miles southeast of Corinth, but was forced back by a portion of Grant's army under Rosecrans. On October 3, the combined forces of Van Dorn and Price made an assault on Corinth. Each side fought desperately for two days, but the Confederates were driven back and with their train of nearly two hundred wagons retreated safely to Holly Springs. Grant was now left free to plan his campaign against Vicksburg.

Battle of Murfreesboro or Stone River. Bragg left his captured stores at Chattanooga and moved northwest to Murfreesboro, where his army went into winter quarters. On the day after Christmas, 1862, General Rosecrans who had succeeded Buell, marched from Nashville with an

army forty-seven thousand strong against Bragg who had thirty-eight thousand. This battle is sometimes called the battle of Stone River from a shallow stream which flowed between the two armies. It was a terrible conflict lasting from December 31 to January 3. Fully one-fourth of the men engaged on both sides was killed. Neither side gained a victory. Bragg withdrew toward Chattanooga and Rosecrans held the field. Both armies now remained inactive for many months.

The Sibley Expedition. An important Trans-Mississippi movement in 1862 was the Sibley Expedition. Early in the war the Confederates had tried to gain control of the upper Rio Grande country. General H. H. Sibley, with a brigade of Texans, later known as the Tom Green Brigade, defeated General Canby at Val Verde in the winter of 1862, and then pushed on to Albuquerque and Santa Fé. Checked at Apache Canyon, he was successful at Glorietta, but not having a sufficient force to hold the territory, he retired to San Antonio.

The Blockade. In 1862 the blockade of the southern ports was strengthened. The United States was steadily increasing the navy and the capture of Confederate harbors reduced the number of places to be guarded. At the end of the year Charleston and Wilmington were almost the only important points along the Atlantic coast held by the Confederacy. Mobile was in the hands of the South and Galveston, which had been taken by the Federals in the fall of 1862, was recaptured in January, 1863.

Situation at Close of 1862. In 1862 the North had gained in the West, taking Forts Henry and Donelson, Memphis and Corinth, and pushing the Confederate line of defense into Mississippi except for Chattanooga. With the fall of New Orleans, the whole of the great river was in the

hands of the Federals except Port Hudson and Vicksburg. The offensive movements of the Confederates, Bragg's dash into Kentucky, and Lee's invasion of Maryland, had failed of their purpose. The blockade was growing more and more effective and the Confederacy was beginning to suffer for the necessaries of life. But it seemed that the war was to be won or lost in Virginia, and there the fortunes of the North were at a low ebb. The Peninsula Campaign, second Manassas, and Fredericksburg was the record of defeats, and no military benefit had come from Antietam which the North claimed as a victory.

Emancipation Proclamation. At the outbreak of the war, in spite of urgent and continued appeals of the abolitionists, Lincoln took no action in the matter of the abolition of slavery. The war, he maintained, was to restore the Union. He realized that at the beginning most of the people in the North would bitterly oppose war for the abolition of slavery, and the border states, particularly Kentucky, would probably join the Confederacy. The action of some of the Federal generals early in the war in emancipating slaves in the territory they overran was promptly checked. But the magnitude of the war and the gloomy failures of the Army of the Potomac, which none realized better than Lincoln, were not offset by the victories in the West; the brilliant victories of the South and the skill of her leaders in making an army and a nation which challenged the admiration of foreign countries and almost won the recognition she so much desired—these things made Lincoln turn to emancipation as a war measure to save the Union which he loved. "We have about played our last card," he said, "and must change our tactics or lose the game." On September 22, after the battle of Antietam, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation declaring that un-

less the Southern states should return to their allegiance to the United States by January 1, 1863, he would declare the slaves within their limits free. This proclamation did not apply to the slaveholding states that were in the Union. The purpose was to transform the struggle in the eyes of the world from a political to a moral issue; to represent the war against the South, not as a war waged against states fighting for their independence, but as a struggle against states fighting for the maintenance of slavery. Thus he hoped that he could put the South in the wrong and prevent foreign recognition. In the South no attention was paid to the proclamation. The Federal commanders set free the negroes who fell into their hands in the conquered territory of the South, and many of these were enlisted in the Federal service. But the great majority of the negroes remained quietly and faithfully at work on the plantations.

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

1. Why was the blockade of the southern ports at first ineffective?
2. Why was possession of the Mississippi River vital to the South?
3. What caused the rout of the Federals at Manassas?
4. What made the war in the border states of Missouri and Kentucky especially terrible?
5. Why did many people in Indiana and Illinois sympathize with the South?
6. What was the attitude of the British government towards the Confederacy?
7. What great General fell at Shiloh?
8. What was the effect of the *Monitor-Merrimac* fight upon naval warfare?

CHAPTER XXII

WAR BETWEEN THE STATES: FROM 1863 TO THE END

Battle of Chancellorsville. After the battle of Fredericksburg, Burnside was removed and General Joseph Hooker ("Fighting Joe Hooker" his soldiers called him) was put in command of the Army of the Potomac. In the spring of 1863 Hooker crossed the Rappahannock with his main army of seventy thousand, having left a detachment of forty thousand at Fredericksburg to fall upon Lee's right. Federal cavalry was sent around Lee's army to cut him off from his supplies and from retreat. Lee met Hooker at Chancellorsville, but against this formidable array he could muster at most about fifty-three thousand men. Stuart and his cavalry scouted around Hooker's army and found that his right wing could be taken. Jackson, with nearly thirty thousand men, moved swiftly in a roundabout march of fifteen miles and fell upon this division, while Lee, with only seventeen thousand, held Hooker's front of seventy thousand. Jackson's troops were discovered while on the march, but the Federals thought they were retreating. On the evening of the second of May when the "foot cavalry" rushed upon them, they fled from the field in confusion and thousands of them were slain. Jackson with his staff rode out in the darkness to view the ground and plan another attack. They were taken for Union horsemen and fired upon by the Confederates, and Jackson was mortally wounded. On the third of May the fight was resumed with General J. E. B. Stuart leading the famous "Stonewall corps," and they rushed

into the fight with "Charge and remember Jackson!" for a battle cry. The attack became general and Hooker's whole army was driven from the field. The campaign had cost the Federals more than seventeen thousand men, while the Confederates lost about twelve thousand.

POSITIONS AND MOVEMENTS OF ARMIES, 1863

Death of Jackson. Chancellorsville was a brilliant victory, but a dear one, for it cost the South the life which, after Lee's, it could perhaps the least spare. Stonewall Jackson was numbered among the dead, and there was none to fill his place. Just before his death, Lee wrote him saying that for the good of his country he would have chosen to have been disabled in Jackson's stead. On the

tenth of May he sank gently to rest with these beautiful words on his lips: "Let us pass over the river and rest under the shade of the trees."

Second Invasion of the North. Lee now determined upon another campaign on Northern soil and with an army of seventy thousand veterans he began his northward march through the Shenandoah Valley. He reached Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, on June 26, living on the country as he advanced, but paying for his supplies. Washington, Baltimore and Philadelphia were threatened and the North was in consternation. Soon the Army of the Potomac was coming in pursuit with a new commander, General George G. Meade,[1] who had succeeded Hooker.

Battle of Gettysburg. The two armies met at Gettysburg, July 1. They took position along the two ranges of hills a mile apart a little south of the town, the Federals on Cemetery Ridge and Culp's Hill, the Confederates on Seminary Ridge. At the end of the first day's fighting the Confederates had the advantage. On the second day Lee's objective was the important hill, Round Top, commanding the Federal position. This could have been taken if the engagement had begun at sunrise as he had planned. But General Longstreet was delayed and when the battle began in the afternoon the Federals held the hill and stood their ground against the Confederate assault. Stuart's cavalry, which had been entirely cut off from Lee's army by Meade's rapid advance northward, came up at

[1]George Gordon Meade was born at Cadiz, Spain, in 1815. He was graduated at West Point in 1835, and served on the staffs of General Taylor and General Scott during the Mexican War. He commanded a division of the Army of the Potomac in the Seven Days' Fight before Richmond, also at Antietam, Fredericksburg, and at Chancellorsville. He was in command of the Army of the Potomac from 1863 until the close of the war, serving under Grant, the commander-in-chief, in 1864 and 1865. He died in 1872.

the close of the second day. On the third day the Confederates attacked the Union center. In the afternoon Pickett's division of Longstreet's corps, aided by other troops, fifteen thousand in all, rushed into the open and surged up the slope against the Union position held by General Hancock and his veteran corps with reserve troops ready to pour in. In spite of the deadly work of

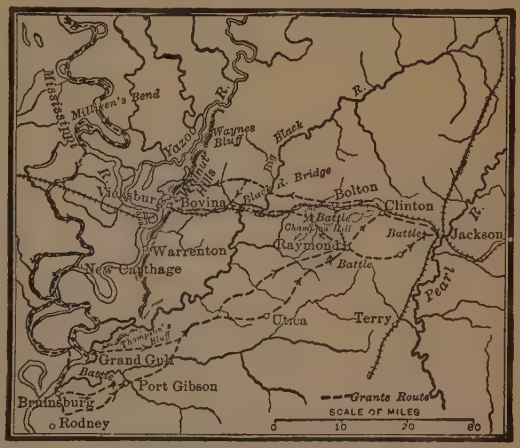
POSITIONS OF THE ARMIES AT THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG

the Federal batteries, and the great gaps in the Confederate lines, the advancing force swept onward into the very jaws of death. The brave Armistead, leading a hundred or so, reached the top and planted his banner on the crest only to fall mortally wounded. The battle was lost for the Confederates. Of Pickett's brave men nearly two-

thirds were left dead on the hillside. The gallantry of the Confederates was paralleled by the bravery of the Federals, and the glory of both will live for all time. Meade had lost twenty-three thousand, while the Confederate dead numbered twenty thousand. The rapidly diminishing ranks of the men who wore the gray were never filled again. Lee's ammunition was short, and fearing that his communications might be cut off, on July 5, he retired from the field and began his retreat across the Potomac. Meade's army followed, but was too shattered to venture another attack. The armies took up positions again on the great battle-plain in Virginia.

The Vicksburg Campaign. Late in 1862, Grant with fifty thousand men had tried to take Vicksburg by marching southward from Corinth and approaching the city from the east. General William T. Sherman, second in command in the West, descended the river from Memphis in order to co-operate with him. But this plan was a complete failure. General Van Dorn swept down upon Holly Springs, Grant's base, destroying supplies to the value of half a million dollars, and capturing the garrison; while General Nathan B. Forrest made one of his daring cavalry raids, cutting telegraph lines and destroying sixty miles of railroad in Grant's rear, leaving him stranded without means of communication with the outside world. Meantime General Stephen D. Lee defeated Sherman's forces at Chickasaw Bayou, just five miles from Vicksburg. The city is on a big bend in the river with high overhanging bluffs to the north which make it impregnable from that side. General John C. Pemberton, the commanding officer, had crowned these bluffs with batteries and had strengthened the defenses from the other sides. Early in 1863 Grant tried to cut a canal across the narrow peninsula

opposite Vicksburg so that transports and supply ships could get past the city. He was supported by Sherman and also by a fleet of some seventy vessels under the command of Admiral David D. Porter. After two months of hard work this undertaking was abandoned. On April 1, Grant moved his army overland west of the Mississippi through the Louisiana swamps, and at the same time the fleet slipped down the river. It was a desperate task, for the river was illuminated by burning houses which the Confederates set afire, and the batteries sent a hail of shot upon the fleet. But Porter got past the city and at Bruinsburg he met Grant's army which he transported to the east bank. Grant defeated the Confederates at Port Gibson, and seized Grand Gulf, a strong position on the river which they had evacuated, and then marched northeastward, living on the country as he went. General Joseph E. Johnston, now commander-in-chief of the Confederate forces in the West, was gathering an army at Jackson to go to Pemberton's aid, but Grant defeated this army of fifteen thousand, took Jackson, and, moving rapidly westward, defeated Pemberton at Champion Hill and Big Black, and forced the Confederates within the fortifications of

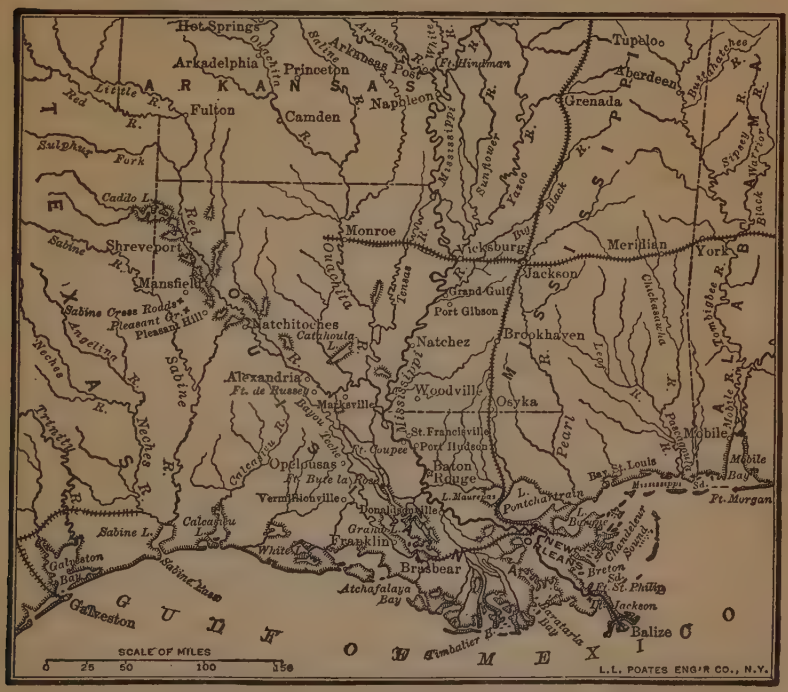


GRANT'S ROUTE TO VICKSBURG

Vicksburg. Twice Grant tried to take the city by direct assault and failed, and then with his army and that of Sherman he sat down to a siege to starve the city into surrender. The defense was heroic. To escape the deadly missiles that were constantly thrown into the city the women and children took refuge in caves. Food grew scarcer every day, flour sold for ten dollars, and bacon for five dollars a pound; mule meat was in demand and rats were sold in the butcher shops. Finally, on July 4, 1863, the day before Lee began his retreat from Gettysburg, General Pemberton surrendered with thirty-two thousand men. This force could not be replaced. On July 9, Port Hudson, the only remaining Confederate stronghold on the Mississippi also surrendered. The loss of Vicksburg and the opening of the Mississippi was a severe blow to the South, as it cut the Confederacy in two, and in the future each part was compelled to fight for itself.

Operations Away from the Main Field of Action. In September, 1863, General Banks made an unsuccessful attempt to break into Texas by way of Sabine Pass, which controlled the railroad extending into the interior of the state. Lieutenant Richard Dowling, with a company of forty-two Confederates, gallantly defended the Pass, disabled two of the enemy's vessels, and captured one hundred and fifty prisoners. The next year Banks made a second attempt by way of the Red River, but he was severely defeated by General Richard Taylor at Sabine Cross Roads or Mansfield, and at Pleasant Hill, April 8 and 9. At the same time General Steele moved southward from Arkansas to overrun Louisiana and Texas. General E. Kirby Smith, the Confederate commander west of the Mississippi, checked this advance and compelled the Federals to retreat to Little Rock. This campaign of General

Banks and General Steele is known as the Red River Expedition. Later in the same year (1864) General Sterling Price made a rapid march through Arkansas and Missouri and threatened St. Louis. He fought a great many skirmishes with the Federal troops in that region, and captured several thousand prisoners. Union forces tried to take Florida in February, 1864, but they were defeated at the battle of Olustee.



BATTLES OF THE RED RIVER EXPEDITIONS, 1864

Battle of Chickamauga. While Grant was besieging Vicksburg, the Confederate and Federal armies in Tennessee, which had been inactive since the battle of Murfreesboro, were again in motion. Bragg was awaiting rein-

forcements from Virginia, and, hoping to delay Rosecrans, he sent General John H. Morgan with about twenty-five hundred Confederate cavalry on a raid northward through Kentucky into Indiana and Ohio. In the meantime Rosecrans moved southward and forced Bragg out of Tennesee and followed him into northern Georgia. Burnside, now in the West, took Knoxville and waited to aid in the operations against Chattanooga. Longstreet with reinforcements from Lee's army now joined Bragg, who suddenly turned and faced his pursuer at Chickamauga Creek. Here, on September 19 and 20, the main part of Rosecrans' army was swept from the field, and nothing but the coolness and firmness of the brave Federal officer, General Geo. H. Thomas,[1] saved the Union forces from a complete rout. He stood for six hours like a wall against the Confederate assault, retreating at nightfall to Chattanooga. Thomas was known ever afterwards as the "Rock of Chickamauga." The Confederate loss in this battle was about eighteen thousand, and the Federal about sixteen thousand.

GENERAL GEORGE H. THOMAS

[1]George H. Thomas was born in Virginia in 1816. He was a graduate of West Point, and had seen service in the Indian wars and in the Mexican War. He was one of the ablest generals on the Federal side and fought in nearly every important engagement in the West. He died in 1870.

Siege of Chattanooga. Bragg placed his men on the heights of Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain in northern Georgia and laid siege to Chattanooga. The siege lasted about two months and the Federals were in danger of starving. But relief was already on the way. Hooker was sent with a detachment from the Army of the Potomac, and Grant and Sherman came from Vicksburg. Rosecrans was removed and Thomas put in his place. A road by which supplies could reach the army within the city was opened and Grant planned to attack Bragg's lofty position.

Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. Meanwhile Bragg had weakened his forces by sending Longstreet to oppose Burnside at Knoxville. On the twenty-fourth of November Hooker drove the Confederates from Lookout Mountain. During the battle the mountain was enveloped in a dense mist, and the troops could not be seen in the valley below, so that the engagement on Lookout Mountain is often called the "battle above the clouds." Sherman, on the twenty-fifth, forced the Confederates from Missionary Ridge. Bragg dropped back into northern Georgia, taking position at Dalton in order to protect Atlanta. In these battles the Federals had sixty thousand; the Confederates but thirty-three thousand. The loss of Chattanooga put the eastern part of Tennessee in the hands of the Federals and opened the way to Alabama, Georgia, and the Carolinas. Sherman went to the aid of Burnside at Knoxville, while Longstreet, who had already tried and failed to take the place by storm, retired into Virginia.

Weakened Condition of the Confederacy. The Confederacy was growing visibly weaker. It was only the marvelous devotion of her people that had made her slender

resources hold out so long. The soldiers were ill-fed and half-clad and poorly armed. Munitions of war from the first had been scarce and church bells and household articles, such as brass kettles, tongs, andirons, and sometimes precious heirlooms dating back to colonial days were melted down and made into cannon. Toward the end of the war it was no uncommon thing to gather up the bullets from the battlefield and recast them. The blockade and the loss of the Mississippi, which cut the states of the East off from the supplies of the West, made even the barest necessities of life hard to obtain. It was almost impossible to get such a common thing as paper, and newspapers were often printed on scraps of wallpaper. Coffee and sugar were extremely scarce and people lived on cornbread and "turnip greens." The killing of sheep was forbidden by law in order that the wool might be used for clothing. Southern girls wore homespun dresses with chinquapins for buttons and thorns were often used as pins. Hats were made of corn-shucks and the soldiers in the field were glad to get a pair of wooden-soled shoes. Confederate money was "not worth a continental"; a dollar bill had the purchasing power of only two cents in gold. Flour sold at one hundred dollars a barrel, and wood at five dollars a stick in Richmond.

Conditions in the North. The North knew no such privations as was everybody's portion in the South; her resources were abundant. The war was costing her two million dollars a day, but there was ample wealth to draw from, as her ports were open to the commerce of the world and her territory was scarcely touched by the hand of war. The soldiers were well-fed, well-clothed, and well-armed. Associations were formed to care for the comfort of the men in the field, to provide hospitals, and to distribute food and medicines.

Conscription. Draft Riots. In the North military zeal and enthusiasm flagged as the war dragged on, and it was found harder and harder to replenish the armies by volunteers. A draft, or conscription act, was passed in May, 1863, according to which names were drawn by lot from a list of able-bodied men; these were forced to serve or to hire a substitute. There was resistance to this act in many parts of the country, and New York City, in July, 1863, was for several days at the mercy of a determined mob. Troops were sent from Gettysburg to aid in putting down the "draft riots." The North also resorted to bounties or gifts in addition to the regular pay to induce men to enlist. The Confederacy, too, found it impossible to fill up the ranks by volunteers alone and passed conscription acts requiring able-bodied citizens between certain ages to serve in the army. The age limit was sixteen to sixty before the war closed. The South, however, had brought very nearly her full fighting population into the field from the beginning of the war and her ranks had been terribly thinned by losses on the field and by disease.

Exchange of Prisoners. There was another condition which further weakened the ranks of the gray. The exchange of prisoners had ceased. The South had always stood ready to exchange man for man, but at the beginning of the war the North refused, because such a measure would be a virtual recognition of the Confederacy as a belligerent power. Nevertheless Union generals in the field often consented to an exchange and in 1862 it became the rule. The South was hard pressed to care for her prisoners; she had not enough supplies for her own men in the field. For this reason Federal soldiers imprisoned in the South suffered greatly, particularly at Andersonville, a prison near Macon, Georgia. On the other hand,

the prisoners from the South suffered indignities in Northern prisons and often were ill-fed in the midst of plenty. Toward the close of the war the system of exchange ceased. The Southern prisoners were valuable because their places were harder and harder to fill, owing to the drained population of the South. The North chose to allow her men to languish in Southern prisons rather than to return soldiers to the Confederate army. General Grant said: "It is hard on our men held in Southern prisons not to exchange them, but it is humanity to those left in the ranks to fight our batties. Every man released on parole or otherwise becomes an active soldier against us at once either directly or indirectly. If we commence a system of exchange which liberates all prisoners taken, we will have to fight on until the whole South is exterminated."

The Final Campaigns. By 1864 both sides seemed to feel that the end was near. There were now but two chief Confederate armies in the field; the Army of Northern Virginia in the East, led by Lee, and the army in the West at Dalton, under Johnston who had superseded Bragg after the loss of Chattanooga. Grant, now in the East and commander-in-chief of all the Federal forces, planned to concentrate on two main campaigns. He was to make one more drive at the Confederate capital, and Sherman, who was left in command of the armies of the West, was to begin a forward movement from Chattanooga to Atlanta and the southern seaboard, thus cutting the Confederacy again. After reaching the seaboard Sherman was to swing northward, making of the operations in the West a vast flanking movement to aid Grant in Virginia. It was planned for the two campaigns to begin at the same time.

Operations in the East. The army of the Potomac, num-

bering about one hundred thousand men, was to move on Richmond by the overland route, Grant himself leading the attack. General B. F. Butler with an army of thirty thousand was to co-operate with Grant by advancing on Richmond by way of the James. General P. H. Sheridan, a famous cavalry officer whom Grant had brought with him from the West, was to raid the Shenandoah Valley to cut off Confederate communications and destroy their source of supplies. Such was Grant's plan and backed by overwhelming numbers he resolved to "hammer out" the Army of Northern Virginia and in so doing he turned the country from the Wilderness to the James into one vast bloody battleground.

Battle of the Wilderness. Lee's army had been keeping winter watch on the Rapidan and never had the troops suffered greater privations than in the winter of 1863 and 1864. In May when the Army of the Potomac began to move, Lee did not wait for an attack but with his sixty thousand veterans he rushed suddenly upon Grant in the "Wilderness" of thick wood and tangled undergrowth that stretched between the Rappahannock and the York and here for days the armies wrestled in a death grapple. Both sides suffered severe losses, and Longstreet, the Confederate general, was dangerously wounded. Grant failed to get around Lee's army but he said, "I propose to fight it out along this line if it takes all summer."

Fight at Spottsylvania Court House. Grant now moved toward Spottsylvania Court House, but he found Lee ahead of him. Here, on the tenth of May, began another series of deadly assaults and recoils. When great hordes of Federal troops rushed up against the Confederate lines Lee rode out bareheaded to lead his men. The shout went up, "General Lee to the rear!" "My Texas boys, you

must charge," Lee cried. But they answered, "Go back," and refused to advance until he was out of danger. A sergeant, one of Gregg's Texas Brigade, seized the bridle rein and led General Lee to the rear. While Grant was grappling with Lee at Spottsylvania, he sent General Sheridan on a cavalry raid around the Confederate army, and in a terrific fight on May 12, at Yellow Tavern, within seven miles of Richmond, General J. E. B. Stuart[1] received his death wound. General Wade Hampton of South Carolina succeeded him in command of the cavalry.

Battle of Cold Harbor. Grant swept on to the south, reaching the peninsula battle ground of 1862 to find Lee entrenched at Cold Harbor, an impregnable position near the Chickahominy. With desperate recklessness Grant tried to take this position by assault but failed utterly. The battle lasted less than an hour and the Federals lost thirteen thousand men while the Confederates lost hardly as many hundred. Grant, out-maneuvered at every point, was forced to move his army south of the James, and reach Richmond by first taking Petersburg. In the battles from the Wilderness to Cold Harbor, he lost as many men as Lee had in his whole army.

Early and Sheridan in the Valley. Lee had despatched General Early to the Shenandoah to protect his communications and to divert Grant from Richmond by threatening Washington. The Confederates marched down the valley into Maryland and reached the suburbs of the terrified capital only to find it too strongly fortified to venture an attack. Early continued his movement into Pennsylvania, burned the town of Chambersburg, and prepared to join

[1]J. E. B. Stuart, commonly known as "Jeb" Stuart, was born in Virginia in 1833. He had been a captain in the United States army. He is called the "Rupert of the Confederacy," because he was so dashing and daring a cavalry leader.

Lee with supplies. Grant sent Sheridan with forty thousand men to drive Early out and lay waste the country. In a series of fights the Confederates were defeated and forced to retreat up the valley. But Early turned and crept upon the Federals at Cedar Creek and defeated them. Sheridan was absent from his command at Winchester, but hurried back to the battlefield and his men regained the ground they had lost. Sheridan then made his famous raid through the valley. He destroyed growing crops and houses; barns filled with grain were burned, and the stock was driven off. He boasted that a "crow flying over the country would have to take his rations with him."

Siege of Richmond. Battle of the Crater. When Grant moved his forces south of the James, Lee had to stretch out his army in an irregular curve of thirty miles for he not only had to defend Richmond but also Petersburg, because the latter controlled his communications to the south. Before him was Grant with double the force. On July 30, 1864, the Federals exploded a mine under one of the entrenchments at Petersburg and opened a way one hundred and fifty feet long, sixty feet wide, and thirty feet deep, but as they rushed forward they were met by a scathing fire from the Confederates. In this "battle of the crater" thousands of Federals were sacrificed and no advantage was gained. Thus far Grant was beaten back by the consummate generalship of Lee and the devotion of the Southern soldier. He now settled down to a siege which lasted nine months.

Operations in the West. Before Sherman[1] began his cam-

[1]William Tecumseh Sherman was born in Ohio in 1820. He was a graduate of West Point, but after serving in the Seminole and Mexican Wars, he resigned and went into business. At the outbreak of the war, he was superintendent of a military college in Louisiana. He ranks with Grant as one of the greatest generals on the Union side. He died in 1891.

paign to the seaboard he tore up the railroads around Meridian, Mississippi, and Selma, Alabama, in order that the Confederate army might not draw supplies from this region. But he was defeated in his plan against Mobile by General N. B. Forrest, the great cavalry leader, who drove a division of Federals as far north as Memphis and pushed eastward to destroy the long line of railroad by which Sherman's supplies came from Louisville via Nashville to Chattanooga. Strong garrisons were stationed all along this road and Forrest so interfered with Sherman's operations that he offered promotion to any officer who would capture him.

The March Through Georgia. Sherman started southward with a hundred thousand men on May 3, 1864, the same day that Grant crossed the Rapidan into the Wilderness. Johnston, who was stationed at Dalton, Ga., with about fifty-three thousand, dropped back from one fortified position to another, protecting the railroad from Chattanooga to Atlanta, as Sherman tried to flank him. There was constant skirmishing and retreating and both sides lost heavily. In June, Johnston was strongly entrenched at Kenesaw Mountain, twenty-five miles from Atlanta, and this position Sherman tried to take by assault but failed. The unconquered Johnston now retired into Atlanta which

GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN

he strongly fortified in the hope of holding it. Sherman meanwhile marched on into Georgia, living on the country and spreading ruin wherever he went. Johnston's retreat was one of the most skillful and successful in the history of the war. In every battle he had sustained himself against vastly superior numbers, he had saved all his stores, and had inflicted heavy loss upon the enemy.

Fall of Atlanta. But there was great dissatisfaction because he had not checked the "advance of the enemy," and had abandoned such a rich part of Georgia, so Johnston was removed and every man in Sherman's army rejoiced. General John B. Hood[1] of Texas who was given his command, immediately offered battle and by the end of July had engaged the enemy in several fights around Atlanta, but gained nothing. For a month Hood held the city against Sherman's superior force, but on September 2, he blew up his magazines, destroyed the supplies he could not remove, and evacuated the place. Sherman sent this message to Washington: "Atlanta is ours and fairly won. Since the fifth of May we have been in one continual battle and need rest." Sherman promised that the lives and property of non-combatants should be respected. The fall of Atlanta was a terrible blow to the Confederacy, because it contained machine shops and was a great store house of supplies.

GENERAL JOHN B. HOOD

[1]John B. Hood was born in Kentucky in 1831. He was a graduate of West Point. When his state did not secede, he went to Texas and led a Texas brigade in the Peninsula Campaign. He fought in the West under Bragg at Chickamauga, and commanded a corps under Johnston in the retreat before Sherman. He died in 1881 in New Orleans.

March to the Sea. General Hood now withdrew northward toward Tennessee in the hope that Sherman would follow and thus the seaboard of the Confederacy would be undisturbed. But Sherman sent General George H. Thomas after Hood and the two armies met at Franklin and at Nashville, and in the latter battle Hood's army was completely routed. Sherman burned Atlanta and with sixty-two thousand men started on his famous march to the sea. "I propose to sally forth to ruin Georgia," he

ROUTE OF SHERMAN'S MARCH TO THE SEA

said. In a region sixty miles wide from Atlanta to Savannah all foodstuff was destroyed and the cattle and horses driven off. Sherman justified his policy upon the theory that it was the quickest way to end the war. There was practically no resistance to this vast confiscating horde, and by December the Federal army reached Savannah. Sherman's message to President Lincoln was: "I beg to present, as a Christmas gift, the city of Savannah with one hundred and fifty heavy guns, plenty of ammunition, also about twenty-five thousand bales of cotton."

Sherman's March Through the Carolinas. Sherman

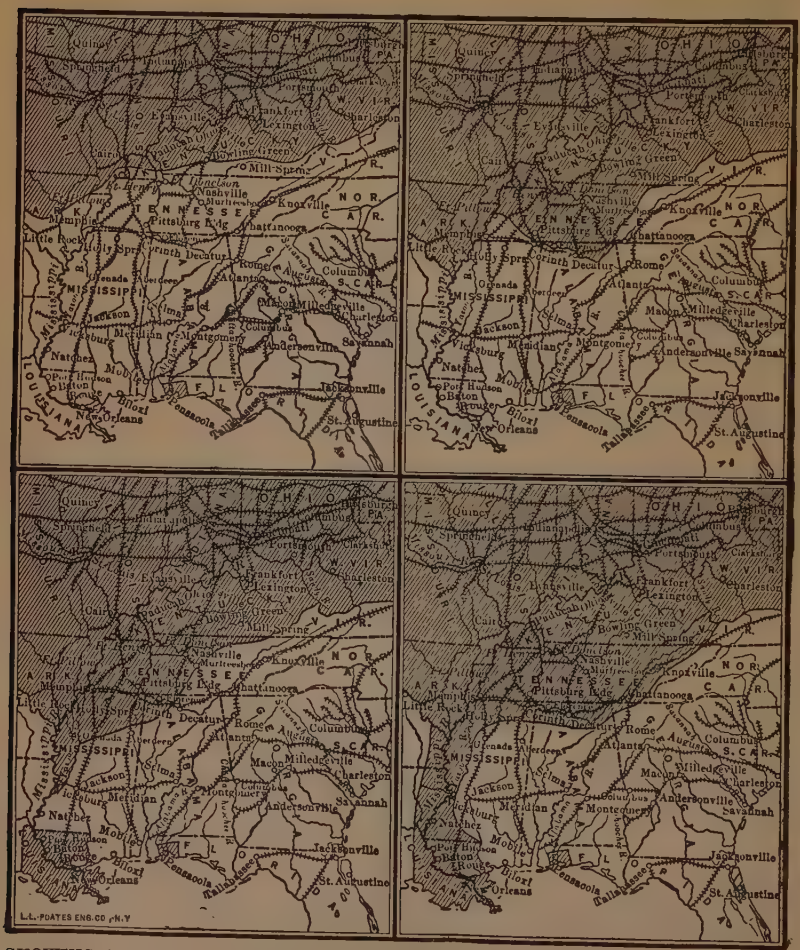
moved northward into South Carolina in February, 1865. The Federal army seemed filled with the desire to wreak vengeance on the state that had first withdrawn from the Union, and ruin marked every foot of the advance. Columbia surrendered to the enemy and was burned. Charleston and then Wilmington were occupied by the invader. On March 20, 1865, Sherman was at Goldsboro, North Carolina, and Grant was at Petersburg, just one hundred and fifty miles away. So far Sherman had met with little resistance; the principal difficulty in his march had been the winter rains and swollen rivers and swamps. Johnston, who had been reinstated in command and had been trying to assemble an army, attacked him at Bentonville, but Sherman drove the Confederates back. Both armies waited in North Carolina for the result of operations in Virginia.

The Blockade and the Confederate Cruisers. In August, 1864, Admiral Farragut had overcome the small Confederate fleet and captured the forts controlling the entrance to Mobile Bay. The city, however, was not surrendered until April, 1865. Fort Fisher, which guarded Wilmington, fell early in 1865, and a month later, Charleston, the last of the harbors of the Confederacy, was closed.

Agents of the Confederacy in England had built and armed three fast sailing steamers, the *Alabama,* the *Florida,* and the *Shenandoah,* and these with other cruisers did serious damage to northern commerce. The *Alabama,* the chief of these, captured prizes on every sea. Admiral Raphael Semmes,[1] her commander, after providing for the

[1]Raphael Semmes was born in Maryland in 1809. He removed to Alabama in 1842 and during the Mexican War he served in the Gulf Squadron. Upon the loss of his ship in the fight with the *Kearsage,* Semmes was picked up by an England yacht. Officers of the British army and navy, in recognition of his "unflinching patriotism and naval daring," presented him with a sword. He died in Mobile in 1877. His best known works are *Service Afloat and Ashore During the Mexican War* and *Service Afloat During the War Between the States.*

safety of passengers and crews, burned the prizes because he could not take them into port. In 1864 the *Alabama* engaged in battle with the United States man-of-war,



SHOWING THE GRADUAL SOUTHWARD MOVEMENT OF CONFEDERATE DEFENSES

Kearsage, seven miles off Cherbourg, France, and was sunk. The *Shenandoah* was capturing United States

whaling vessels in Behring Sea three months after the fall of the Confederacy. The *Florida* was captured by a United States vessel in a neutral port, which was contrary to the rules of warfare. She was later sunk in Hampton Roads as the result of a collision.

Battle of Five Forks. The siege of Richmond was long and weary. Grant's strong force and his ample supplies rendered his final victory certain. He extended his lines farther and farther to the southwest in order to cut off Lee's supplies that came by way of the railroad going into Petersburg from that direction. Lee struck one last blow in the hope of escaping to join Johnston. Together, he thought, they would defeat Sherman and then turn upon Grant. General John B. Gordon seized the Federal fortification south of Petersburg, known as Fort Stedman, which would serve as an opening, but it was recaptured and Grant drew the lines tighter about Richmond. He sent Sheridan with his cavalry to Five Forks, a few miles from Petersburg, to seize the railroad. Lee despatched Pickett's division to protect his communications but it was overwhelmed by numbers and several thousand Confederates were taken prisoners.

Fall of Richmond. The Confederate force was so reduced that on April 2, the Federals broke through the lines, and Lee saw there was nothing to do but to evacuate Petersburg and Richmond in order to save his army. On April 3, a portion of the Union forces entered Richmond and seized the prize for which they had striven for four long, bloody years.

Surrender at Appomattox Court House. Grant left a small force in Richmond and moved on to the southwest in pursuit of Lee. Everywhere the Confederate communications were cut off. Lee was outnumbered and sur-

rounded. His supplies were captured and his men were starving. Grant met him at Appomattox Court House, and, "after four years of arduous service marked by unsurpassed courage and fortitude, the Army of Northern Virginia has been compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources," and on April 9, 1865, Lee surrendered. Grant was generous and allowed honorable terms of surrender. Both private soldiers and officers were released on parole and the men were allowed to keep their horses, because, as General Grant said, "they would need them in the spring plowing." Grant ordered that the starving Confederates be fed from his supplies, and he would not allow his men to fire a salute in honor of the victory. On the twenty-sixth of April, Johnston surrendered to Sherman on terms similar to those Grant allowed Lee and within a month thereafter the scattered armies of the Confederacy had all been disbanded. However, the last battle of the war was fought on May 13, at Palmito, in Texas, and the Confederates won.

Assassination of President Lincoln. While Sherman was at Atlanta and Grant was before Petersburg in the fall of 1864, a presidential election was held in the North. The Democrats had nominated General George B. McClellan and the Republicans had renominated Lincoln. The latter was re-elected with Andrew Johnson of Tennessee as Vice President. In his second inaugural address Lincoln had said: "With malice toward none, with charity for all; with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in and bind up the nation's wounds . . . to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations." A month later came the surrender at Appomattox. But soon the joy

of the North was hushed. Abraham Lincoln was assassinated in Ford's Theater in Washington on the night of April 14, by John Wilkes Booth, a distinguished actor and southern zealot, half crazed by the downfall of the Confederacy, who was at the head of a plot to murder President Lincoln, Vice President Johnson, Secretary Seward, and General Grant. Lincoln breathed his last the next day. His death was a severe loss to the whole country, and the awful crime was viewed with horror both in the North and in the South.[1] Andrew Johnson, the Vice President, took the oath of office as President April 15, 1865.

Capture of President Davis. President Davis had left Richmond on April 2, when Lee was compelled to evacuate the capital. The Federal government offered a reward of one hundred thousand dollars for his arrest. He was captured in Georgia, May 10, and carried as a prisoner to Fortress Monroe where he remained for two years. He was indicted for treason and for conspiring with Lee and others to make war on the United States. Although he earnestly wished it he was never brought to trial, but was finally released on parole. The failure to try President Davis under the forms of law seems to have been due to the fear of the Federal authorities that upon a test of the case in the courts the right of a state to secede would be established.

Cost of the War to the North. The great war was over. On the part of the North, it was a magnificent display of material resources, of strength, and of devotion to the

[1] On the same night in which Lincoln was shot, an attempt was made on the life of Secretary Seward also, but though he was severely wounded, he soon recovered. Booth was killed while resisting arrest. Four of the other alleged conspirators were condemned upon circumstantial evidence and hanged, among them a woman, Mrs. Surratt.

Union. The United States government had spent a revenue of nearly eight hundred million dollars on the war and incurred besides a debt of over two billions. In order to raise this enormous amount the government taxed nearly everything. The tariff was increased in 1861, bonds were issued and an internal revenue system was established, placing an excise not only on whiskey and tobacco, but also on clothing, food, and other property. To secure a market for the bonds an act was passed in 1863 creating a national banking system. The banks bought the bonds and deposited them in the United States treasury and with them as security they were permitted to issue national bank notes. The government was also driven to issue a large volume of paper currency or "promises to pay," called "greenbacks" on account of their color; and during the war this paper money depreciated in purchasing power until it was worth only about half its face value, reckoned upon the standard of gold.

It is difficult to estimate the losses in men. Over two and one-half millions enlisted in the Union army and three hundred and sixty thousand lost their lives in the struggle. But not half of the fighting population of the North was brought into the field. In a military review held in Washington on May 24 and 25, the armies of Grant and Sherman marched twenty men abreast and made a column thirty miles long. Something like a million men were mustered out of the service.

Three new states were admitted to the United States during the struggle: Kansas in 1861, West Virginia in 1863, and Nevada in 1864.

Cost to the South. In the South the war was maintained by sacrifice unparalleled in history. The South spent her whole strength and not until she had exhausted her re-

sources of men and supplies did she abandon the struggle. The Confederate government had amassed an enormous debt and there is no way of estimating how much more was spent by separate states; many private individuals gave their all. The South had sent nine out of every ten men of fighting age into the field, yet the total enlistment in her armies was in all probability not many more than six hundred thousand and more than one-fourth of these lost their lives in the contest. When the end came the Southern soldiers returned to neglected and ruined homes to take up again the occupations of peace in a land bereft and bare.

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

1. Why had Lee's first invasion of the North been a disappointment to him?
2. In what respect was Gettysburg the turning point of the war?
3. What Federal victory in the West came at this time?
4. What was the importance of this latter event?
5. By what right did Lincoln justify his Emancipation Proclamation?
6. Contrast conditions in the South and in the North in 1864.
7. Name a famous Confederate prison. A Union prison.
8. On what motto did Grant advance on Richmond?
9. Name some railroads of great importance to Lee's army.
10. How did Sherman excuse his destructive march through Georgia?
11. What were the conditions of Lee's surrender?
12. Did Johnston also surrender?

CHAPTER XXIII

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE UNION

ANDREW JOHNSON, President, 1865-1869.
ULYSSES S. GRANT, President, 1869-1877.
SCHUYLER COLFAX, Vice President, 1869-1873.
HENRY WILSON, Vice President, 1873-1877.

Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction. The problems growing out of the War Between the States were as difficult as those that caused the conflict. The most perplexing question was the relation of the seceded states to the Union. Were they still within the Union, as Lincoln had maintained, or had they forfeited their statehood and become territories or conquered provinces to be governed by Congress? Toward the close of the war, Lincoln had decided upon the following simple and broad-minded plan of reconstruction: when a number of people within a state equal to one-tenth of the voters in 1860 should take the oath of allegiance to the United States, accept the acts of the federal government in abolishing slavery, and set up a state government, the former relations of the state to the Union should be restored. Lincoln issued a general amnesty to all persons taking this oath except those who had left the service of the Union for that of the Confederacy and those who had taken a prominent part in secession. Arkansas, Tennessee, and Louisiana had been reconstructed after this plan during the last year of the war.

ANDREW JOHNSON

Johnson's Plan of Reconstruction. Andrew Johnson,[1] who became President at Lincoln's death, was a Democrat and a Southerner, although like many men from East Tennessee he was a Unionist. But he now announced that he would carry out Lincoln's plan, and, as Congress would not meet for eight months, he immediately set himself to the task of reconstruction. On May 29, 1865, he issued a general amnesty proclamation extending pardon to almost the entire citizenship of the South with the exception of the principal leaders and most of them were promised pardon on the condition that they personally seek it. He appointed provisional governors in the southern states and instructed the white voters who had taken the oath of allegiance to elect delegates to the state conventions. New constitutions were framed, the ordinances of secession were declared null and void, new officers were elected, and eight of the southern states ratified the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery, which had been submitted by Congress in January, 1865. The ratification of this amendment was necessary because the Emancipation Proclamation was simply a war measure and was effective only in those regions occupied by Federal troops. Slavery had been abolished in the territories by act of Congress and the fugitive slave law had been repealed, but it needed the vote of eight of the seceded states to make the necessary three-fourths of the states required for the adoption of a constitutional amendment. By the autumn of 1865 the process of reconstruction on the plan

[1]Andrew Johnson was born in North Carolina in 1808. He had few opportunities as a child and it is said that he was taught to read and write by his wife after their marriage. He settled in East Tennessee where he followed the trade of a tailor. Johnson was a man of great ability and ambition and was elected to many offices in his adopted state, serving in Congress and as governor. He died in 1875.

laid down by the President was accepted by the southern states and he declared them restored to the Union and ready for representation in Congress.

Southern Legislation Concerning the Negro. The great problem facing the South was the negro. Thousands of the former slaves were without homes and they refused to work, thinking that the soldiers of the North would take care of them and give them "forty acres and a mule." The South recognized such a condition as a distinct menace to government, to property, and to person. The southern men, who knew the negro's character, understood that the way to help him was to require him under direction to care for himself. Ordinary prudence demanded that the negroes be controlled and disciplined until they could learn to use their freedom and in this way only could the negro be benefited and society protected. The southern legislatures, therefore, passed laws, the so-called "Black Codes," against vagrancy and undertook to compel the negro to work. Contract laws were also passed and an apprentice system was adopted by which minor negroes were bound out to service. The purpose of these laws was to initiate the negro gradually into his freedom. There was nothing new in such legislation; in many of the northern states similar laws were on the statute books and were enforced. Subsequent events proved this legislation on the part of the South to have been wise and beneficial, but unfortunately many people in the North, who had little understanding of the negro's real condition, regarded it as an effort to deprive him of his freedom and as evidence of a rebellious spirit on the part of the South.

Congress Sets Aside the President's Plan. When Congress assembled in December, a bitter conflict arose between that body and the President as to the proper

manner of dealing with the seceded states. The representatives from these states were denied their seats and Congress refused to accept the President's plan on the ground that it was the duty of the legislative department rather than of the executive to deal with the problem. But allowing for honest differences of opinion, it was plain that sectional bitterness and party ambition, rather than real statesmanship influenced Congress in the determination to set aside the reconstruction that had already been accomplished. The radicals of the North felt that the South had not been punished enough for secession and they considered the "Black Codes" as an attempt to force the negro back into slavery. Moreover, the new southern governments were controlled by the white voters, which meant that the Confederate leaders would be elected to the offices and the Republicans would fail in their purpose of political control.

The Freedman's Bureau. The Freedman's Bureau had been established in March, 1865, to last for one year. To safeguard the interests of the negro, an act was passed over the President's veto to continue this indefinitely. The Bureau was to care for negroes, give them food, clothing, and shelter, educate them, and lease lands to them on easy terms. Federal troops were to aid in carrying out the work. The system proved to be more harmful than beneficial, for the negro continued to believe that he would be sustained in idleness.

Congressional Plan of Reconstruction. To prevent the southern whites from regaining control of their state governments and from sending to Congress representatives who would oppose the radicals of that body, Congress framed the Fourteenth Amendment, which was submitted to the states in June, 1866. This amendment made the

negro a citizen of the United States and of the state in which he resides, and declared that no person could hold office unless he took the "iron-clad oath" that he had not aided the Confederacy, which in effect disqualified the great mass of white citizens of the South. The amendment provided also that if the negroes were excluded from the suffrage, the representation of the state in Congress would be reduced accordingly. The Congressional plan was that the southern states should ratify this amendment and frame state constitutions in conformity with it before they could be re-admitted to the Union. Tennessee ratified the Fourteenth Amendment in 1866 and was declared entitled to the right of representation, the first of the seceded states to be re-admitted under the reconstruction acts of Congress. The other ten rejected the amendment and Congress construed these acts as defiance of its powers and henceforth its dealings with the South were as unjust as they were unstatesmanlike. These states were now treated as conquered provinces subject to military rule, and on March 2, 1867, an act was passed over the President's veto dividing them into five military districts, each under the administration of a general in the army, who was to execute the work of reconstruction.

Tenure of Office Act and Impeachment of the President. The same Congress which passed the reconstruction acts passed also the Tenure of Office Act over the President's veto. This act deprived the President of the power of removing any office holder whose appointment required the consent of the Senate, a power which the President had exercised from the beginning of the government. Congress distrusted Johnson and the purpose of the bill was to defy him and prevent his removing officials, notably Stanton, the Secretary of War, who would carry out rigidly

the Congressional plan. Nevertheless, when Congress adjourned, Johnson asked the resignation of Stanton, who refused, whereupon the President declared him suspended from office and appointed General Grant in his place. When Congress reassembled the Senate refused to ratify Stanton's removal and the House of Representatives brought impeachment proceedings against Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, for "high crimes and misdemeanors." He was accused of failing in his duty and violating the Tenure of Office Act. The real cause was his persistent opposition to Congress and its plans of reconstruction. He was put on trial, as the Constitution provides, in the Senate with the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court presiding, and the senators constituting the jury. The trial lasted from March 5, 1868, to May 16th following, and the President was acquitted by one vote.

Readmission of Seven Southern States. In the meantime reconstruction according to the Congressional plan was being accomplished through newly made negro voters and unscrupulous adventurers from the North known as "carpet baggers" because they usually had all their belongings with them in carpet-bags or satchels. In 1868 seven of the southern states; namely, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, and Arkansas, adopted constitutions, ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, and were declared entitled to representation in Congress. These ratifications produced the necessary three-fourths vote and in 1868 the Fourteenth Amendment was declared in force. In Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas, the white voters refused for a year and half longer to submit to the conditions of ratification.

French in Mexico. Purchase of Alaska. A difficult foreign problem was adjusted during Johnson's administration.

In 1862 and 1863 France, taking advantage of the War Between the States, established an empire in Mexico in opposition to the wishes of the people. Maximilian, the Archduke of Austria, was made emperor and his throne was upheld by French troops. Such a step was an open violation of the Monroe Doctrine. The government at Washington protested against the French occupation of Mexico, but was unable to enforce its protest until 1867, when fifty thousand veteran troops under General P. H. Sheridan were sent to the Rio Grande frontier. Louis Napoleon, the Emperor of France, realized that he could not resist the Mexican patriots and the United States government combined, and immediately withdrew his troops, without whose support the ill-fated Maximilian was captured by the Mexicans and executed. A republic was re-established in Mexico under Benito Juarez.

In the same year, 1867, the territory of the United States was expanded by the purchase of Alaska from Russia for the sum of $7,200,000 in gold, and the number of the states also was increased by the admission of Nebraska, a part of the Louisiana Purchase.

Election of Grant. While President Johnson's trial was in progress, the Republican convention met and, indorsing the reconstruction policy of Congress, unanimously nominated General U. S. Grant for President and Schuyler Colfax of Indiana for Vice President. The Democrats condemned this policy and nominated Horatio Seymour of New York for President and F. P. Blair of Missouri for Vice President. Six of the re-admitted southern states that were controlled by negro voters cast Republican majorities. Grant was elected and the country hoped for peace under the plain soldier who was trusted alike by Congress and the people.

Fifteenth Amendment and the Readmission of Virginia, Mississippi and Texas. The radical leaders in Congress realized that the southern states would cut down their representation in Congress rather than submit to negro rule, and after the election, the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution declaring that neither Congress nor any of the states had the power to deny the right of citizens to vote on account "of race, color, or previous condition of servitude," was submitted to the states. The ratification of this amendment was imposed as an added condition upon Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas, and also upon Georgia which had been put out again because she passed laws excluding negroes from office. The purpose of this amendment was to maintain the hold of the Republicans in the South, and thus continue their majority in Congress. In 1870 Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas ratified the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and were declared readmitted. Their ratification made up the necessary three-fourths for the Fifteenth Amendment and in 1870 it became a part of the Constitution. In 1871 Georgia was readmitted and all the states were again represented in Congress, the first time since 1861.

Carpet-Bag Rule in the South. The trials of the war were light in comparison with what the South suffered during reconstruction. The "carpet-baggers," working through the Freedman's Bureau and backed by Federal troops, set up governments in the South that were the most corrupt this country has ever known. They turned the negroes against their former masters and organized them into a secret society known as the Union League. The southern legislatures were made up of ignorant negroes and corrupt "carpet-baggers" who plundered the land. Taxes were increased to such an extent that the already impoverished

men of the South could not pay them and were compelled to surrender their lands in default. In the state of Mississippi alone six hundred and forty thousand acres of land were forfeited and in South Carolina twenty-six hundred pieces of land were sold for taxes in a single county in one year. During the period of reconstruction the debt of Louisiana increased from five or six million dollars to fifty millions. Similar conditions prevailed in the other southern states and there was practically nothing for the good of the people to show for the money. Here and there a few southern white men joined in the general plundering and these became known as "scalawags." Before the war the citizens of the South were divided in politics according to their views of public questions, but carpet-bag rule made a solid Democratic South.

The Ku-Klux Klan. The white men of the South determined to regain control of their state governments. To accomplish this it was necessary that the negro should lose his interest in politics, and in some of the states this was accomplished by peaceable means, in others it was the work of a secret society known as the Ku-Klux Klan. This organization originated among some young men of Pulaski, Tennessee. Its purpose at first was pleasure and amusement, but later it devoted itself to the overthrow of the carpet-bag governments and to the protection of the southern people from indignities and outrages. The mysterious brotherhood of the Ku-Klux rode forth in the night, wearing tall paste-board hats and hideous masks, with horse and rider draped in ghostly white and the feet of the horses muffled so as to give no warning of approach. As they came and went silently these night riders spread terror among the negroes. Often a thorough fright would result in submission, but in the case of serious offenses the Ku-Klux

sometimes took the law in their hands and punished the negroes severely.

The Force Bills. The carpet-bag governments appealed to Congress for protection and in 1870 and 1871 Force Bills were passed which authorized President Grant to use martial law in suppressing the Ku-Klux. At the same time elections in the South were put under the control of Federal officials who aided and supported the "returning boards" created by the carpet-bag governments to pass upon all election returns. But the Klan had shown that the southern white people were determined to get control of their own states.

The Pacific Railroads. In 1862, after many years of tedious debate, the first Pacific Railroad was chartered, its route to be through the Platte country. Construction began in 1864 at both ends of the line. The Central Pacific built eastward from Sacramento, the Union Pacific westward from Omaha. The construction gangs on the latter were made up chiefly of veterans and newly arrived immigrants; the labor question on the Central Pacific was solved by the importation of Chinese coolies. Save for a few mining camps and the Mormon settlement in Utah, there was an unbroken wilderness for nearly the whole distance, and the road could hope for little support from the country through which it ran. But the Federal government made liberal grants in public lands and in bond subsidies to aid the enterprise. The road pushed on eastward and westward, surmounting all difficulties of mountain, desert, plain, and hostile Indian tribes. In 1869 it was completed—seventeen hundred and seventy-six miles of track in all, the greatest engineering work that the United States had yet accomplished. The whole country celebrated when the last spike was driven and Atlantic

and Pacific coasts were bound together by bands of steel. With closer communications would come understanding and good will. The railroads broke down sectionalism and made our country a nation. In the next decade or so the Southern Pacific, the Northern Pacific, and other transcontinental railways were built.

The New Indian Policy. The railroad ran through the heart of the plains, the country set apart by President Monroe for the Indians. For many years the Indians had been growing more and more restless at the advance of settlement. The great migration of the forties to Oregon, the settlement of Kansas, and the coming of the miners, had restricted their reservations and driven off the wild game from their hunting grounds. With only occasional uprisings and massacres they moved on to let the white man in. But the building of the railroad destroyed their last hope and the Indians of the plains, the Cheyenne, the Arapaho, the Sioux, and many other tribes went on the war-path. They destroyed stage-roads, tore up the railroad tracks, fell on mining camps, and massacred lonely settlers. United States troops and the construction gangs finally restored peace. But with the completion of the road, a great wave of population swept westward and it was plain that a new Indian policy was necessary. The Indians were removed to two great reservations, one in the Indian Territory, the other in the Black Hills region of South Dakota. There were also small reservations in many of the western states and territories. Henceforth the Indians were to be the wards of the nation. One of the earliest measures of Grant's administration was the creation of a Board of Indian Commissioners whose duty was to maintain peace and promote civilization among the tribes. Schools were established for them and in time,

as they progressed in the ways of civilization, they have been permitted individual ownership of land and have been admitted to citizenship.

The Sioux War and the Last Stand of Chief Joseph. But there were occasional Indian outbreaks for many years. The worst, perhaps, occurred shortly after the inauguration of the new policy. The northern reservation was hardly established before the discovery of gold in the Black Hills attracted many miners and prospectors there. The Sioux, under their chief, Sitting Bull, prepared to fight for their lands. In a battle on the Little Big Horn River in Montana they defeated General George A. Custer, the noted cavalry leader, whose army suffered total destruction save for his battle horse Comanche and a half-breed scout. Finally after months of fighting the Indians were brought to terms, but Sitting Bull and a little band escaped into Canada.

The Nez Perces lived in the valley of the Snake River, and had been on friendly terms with the whites since the days of the Lewis and Clark expedition. Gold was discovered on their lands and miners rushed in. Chief Joseph refused to abide by a treaty signed by some of the tribe surrendering a part of their lands. War followed and lasted for two months. At last Chief Joseph surrendered, but he had won the admiration of his foes. He and his followers had fought like white troops; there was no scalping, no murder of women and children. The tribe was sent to the Indian Territory where they rapidly dwindled in number. Afterwards they were taken to the state of Washington.

Treaty of Washington. During Grant's first administration England and the United States adjusted satisfactorily to both parties their differences growing out of the war.

The Confederate cruisers, the *Alabama,* the *Shenandoah,* and the *Florida,* had been built in English shipyards and fitted out in English ports. The government at Washington regarded this as a violation of the neutrality which Great Britain had proclaimed and demanded of that country payment in part at least for the damage wrought by these ships. These demands were described under the general head of the "Alabama claims." Other questions in dispute between the two countries were the northwest boundary and the rights of American fishermen in Canadian waters. In 1871 a joint high commission consisting of leading citizens of both countries met at Washington and agreed that all matters in dispute should be settled by arbitration. The "Alabama claims" were settled by a board of arbitration which met at Geneva, Switzerland, and its decision was that Great Britain should pay the United States $15,500,000 damages. The Emperor of Germany acted as arbiter in the boundary dispute, and decided that the small group of islands in Puget Sound belonged to the United States. The fisheries question was settled by a board of arbitration which met at Halifax in 1877. The decision in this case was that the United States should pay Great Britain $5,500,000 for the right of inshore fishing along the Canadian coast.

Election of 1872. Except for this treaty and the new Indian policy, Grant's first administration was a failure. He had no experience in political life and many of his advisers were chosen because of friendship rather than fitness for their positions and could give him little help. A faction known as the "Liberal Republicans" separated from the Republican party and demanded the restoration of the franchise to the southern whites and charged Grant's administration with inefficiency and corruption. They

nominated Horace Greeley, editor of the New York *Tribune,* for President and the Democrats supported him. The Liberal Republicans lost the election, but as a result of their platform and campaign the Amnesty Bill of 1872, which repealed the iron-clad oath, was passed and Congress ordered an investigation of the charges of corruption they had made.

The Credit Mobilier. The first matter to be investigated was the Credit Mobilier, a corporation organized to build the Pacific Railroad, to which Congress had made immense grants of land and other concessions. It was so-called because it was modeled after a French company of the same name. During the campaign charges had been openly made that Colfax, the Vice President, and Wilson, the candidate for Vice President, the Speaker of the House, and a number of senators and representatives had purchased shares of stock for much less than the market value. This was in consideration, it was charged, of aid given in securing grants of land and other favorable legislation for the company. The investigation showed two members of the House and one of the Senate concerned in the affair. They were formally censured but not expelled. People generally believed that it was just a white-washing and that more had been covered up than had been revealed.

Back Salary Grab. The Salary Act of 1873 raised the President's salary from twenty-five thousand dollars to fifty thousand a year and the salaries of a large number of other Federal officers were raised. In the case of the members of Congress the increase of salaries was made to date back two years. The "Back Salary Grab," as the act was popularly called, raised such a storm of indignation that it was repealed at the next session of Congress. The increase in the President's salary was allowed to stand.

The Whiskey Ring. Impeachment of Belknap. A "whiskey ring" was brought to light in 1875. In many of the western states it was discovered that distillers and government officials had made a bargain to cheat the government out of the internal revenue on distilled spirits. In two years they defrauded the United States of more than four million dollars. Investigation revealed also that W. W. Belknap, the Secretary of War, was involved. He was impeached by the House, but resigned to save himself.

Panic of 1873. Financial Legislation. In 1873 a disastrous panic swept over the country. A financial crisis had come in 1869 due to the unscrupulous efforts of certain very rich men to get control of all the gold in the country in order to make themselves richer. September 24, 1869, was called "Black Friday" because fortunes were swept away almost in a breath. The situation was tided over, but there continued a general uneasiness. This condition was produced by a number of causes. There had been vast outlays of capital which were yielding very little profit on the investment. In railway construction alone more than a billion dollars had been spent. A large amount of greenbacks was in circulation and the uncertainty as to their value upset business. In 1873 an act was passed to discontinue the coinage of the silver dollar and this "demonetizing" caused a drop in the price of that metal. Forest fires swept over Wisconsin in the fall of 1871 and in the same year a fire raged for three days in Chicago and almost totally destroyed the city. The next year a large part of Boston was in ashes. These fires represented losses in the hundreds of millions of dollars, and added to the general feeling of depression. In 1875 Congress passed an act for the redemption of greenbacks in specie or hard money by 1879. This helped to relieve the financial crisis.

The Disputed Election of 1876. The election of 1874 had given the Democrats a majority in the House of Representatives and because of the inefficiency and corrupt practices under Grant's administration, they hoped for victory in the presidential election of 1876. Declaring their purpose to reform the government, they nominated Samuel J. Tilden of New York for President, and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana for Vice President. The Republican party was on the defensive and resorted to the device of "waving the bloody shirt," that is, appealing to the prejudices still lingering as a result of the war. Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio was nominated for President, and William A. Wheeler of New York for Vice President. Tilden received a popular majority of two hundred and fifty thousand, and the electoral vote of every southern state except Louisiana, Florida, and South Carolina where the election was in dispute with charges of violence and fraud on both sides.

In each of these states the Republicans, through the "returning boards," declared the election in their favor. In Oregon the three Republican electors had a majority, but one of them was a Federal office-holder and this made him ineligible. The Democratic governor then gave a certificate of election to one Democratic and two Republican electors. But the three Republican electors were recognized and this state, too, went for Hayes. The Democrats refused to accept the result, and as inauguration day approached intense excitement prevailed throughout the country. The Constitution makes no provision for such a situation as this and both sides agreed to a settlement by a committee of fifteen, known as the Electoral Commission, created by act of Congress. Five of the members were to be chosen from the House, five from

the Senate, and five from the Supreme Court. Seven were Democrats and eight were Republicans. The Commission, by a majority of one, declared Hayes elected. The decision was not reached until March 2, and Hayes was inaugurated on March 3, as the fourth came on Sunday. Shortly afterwards President Hayes removed the Federal troops from the South and the period of reconstruction was at an end.

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

1. State Lincoln's plan of reconstruction. The plan of Congress.
2. What caused the quarrel between Johnson and Congress?
3. How was this quarrel a calamity to the South?
4. What was the Freedman's Bureau?
5. What was its effect upon conditions in the South?
6. Who was a carpet-bagger and why so called?
7. How did the carpet-bag governments of the South aid the Republicans in the control of Congress?
8. What was the "Ku-Klux Klan?"
9. What effect did the "Iron Clad Oath" have upon the political situation in the South?
10. What caused the split in the Republican party in 1872?
11. How had Russia acquired Alaska? Why was she willing to sell it?
12. Has the purchase of Alaska proved to be a bargain?
13. What caused the panic of 1873?

SUGGESTED READINGS

Stephens, *War Between the States*
Davis, *Rise and Fall of the Confederacy*
Smith, *Parties and Slavery*
Lee, *True History of the Civil War*
Fiske, *The Mississippi Valley in the Civil War*
Wilson, *Division and Reunion*
Hosmer, *The Appeal to Arms* and *The Outcome of the Civil War*
Henty, *With Lee in Virginia*
Page, *Two Little Confederates* and *The Burial of the Guns*
Biographies of Davis, Lincoln, Lee, Jackson, etc.
Eggleston, *American War Ballads* and *Southern Soldier Stories*
Stiles, *Four Years Under Marse Robert*
Cooke, *Wearing the Gray* and *Hilt to Hilt*
Avary, *A Virginia Girl in the Civil War*
Chestnut, *A Diary from Dixie*
Johnston, *The Long Roll*
Hall, *Half Hours in Southern History*
Wharton, *War Songs and Poems*
Ticknor, *The Virginians of the Valley*

PERIOD VII.—THE RE-UNITED STATES

1876-1920.

CHAPTER XXIV

DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATION

Rutherford B. Hayes, President, 1877-1881
William A. Wheeler, Vice President, 1877-1881
James A. Garfield, President, 1881
Chester A. Arthur, Vice President, then President, 1881-1885
Grover Cleveland, President, 1885-1889
Thomas A. Hendricks, Vice President, 1885
Benjamin Harrison, President, 1889-1893
Levi P. Morton, Vice President, 1889-1893
Grover Cleveland, President, 1893-1897
Adlai E. Stevenson, Vice President, 1893-1897

The New Era. The two decades following reconstruction were marked by the rapid growth and development of the nation. The population of 1880 was a little over 50,000,000 which represented an increase of 12,000,000 since 1870. Immigration was responsible for a large part of the growth as upwards of 10,000,000 aliens came in during the period, coming at first from Great Britain, Ireland, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries; later from Russia, Austria-Hungary, Bohemia, and the countries of southern Europe. The Homestead Law of 1862 under which any head of a family could take up one hundred and sixty acres of land attracted immigrants and other settlers alike and there was a great rush of population westward. The population was growing more urban. By 1890 a third of the people lived in cities, as against a twentieth in 1800. In 1880 New York was the largest city, Philadelphia was second, and Chicago had quickly recovered from the great fire and was crowding St. Louis

for the third place. There were many other cities which had been scarcely more than villages twenty years before.

Agriculture was still the principal occupation of the people of the South, but owing to the labor problem the big plantations were breaking up into smaller farms. The cotton crop in 1880 was as great as in the years before the war and continued to increase until the Southern states produced two-thirds to three-fourths of the entire cotton output of the world. The coal and iron deposits of the South were being worked, and cotton mills were multiplying. The grain fields and cattle ranges of the West, and the rich mineral deposits of gold, silver, iron, and coal were adding to the nation's wealth. The manufacturing interests of the Eastern states kept pace with the growth in the other sections. This rapid industrial development created new problems of government.

Centennial Exposition. At the beginning of the new era a great industrial exposition was held at Philadelphia in 1876 to celebrate the centennial anniversary of our independence. Foreign governments were invited to aid in making this exposition a success, and thirty-three responded. Some of these governments generously lent their treasures of art to adorn the galleries of our exposition. Great crowds attended the fair from May until November, and the whole world was impressed with the vast resources of the great Republic of the West. Colorado, which was formed partly from the Louisiana Purchase and partly from the Mexican Cession, was admitted in 1876 and is called the Centennial State. Five years later a centennial exposition was held at Yorktown, Virginia, to commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of the surrender of Cornwallis. Here a salute was fired to the British flag to show our friendship for the mother country.

A Gift from France. At the main entrance to the exposition grounds at Philadelphia was a gigantic hand of bronze holding aloft a torch. This was part of a colossal statue, "Liberty Enlightening the World," designed to commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of American independence. It was the gift of France to the United States as an expression of the friendly feeling existing between the two great republics and in acknowledgment of the gratitude of the American people to Lafayette. The finished statue was placed at the entrance to New York harbor and unveiled in 1886. (See Frontispiece.)

Inventions. There were hundreds of new inventions. Freight and passenger elevators were installed in high buildings and new systems of heating by steam and hot air took the place of the old-fashioned stoves. Riding plows came into use and other labor-saving farm machinery was invented or improved. There were compressed-air drills for mining, and many new safety appliances to use on the railroads, notably the Westinghouse brake, which was introduced in 1868 and has been of inestimable benefit in preventing accidents to employees of railroads. There were improved firearms, especially the Maxim automatic machine gun, and a new explosive, dynamite. The typewriter was first put on the market in 1874. The linotype, a typecasting machine, was perfected about 1890, and has cheapened the making of books and newspapers.

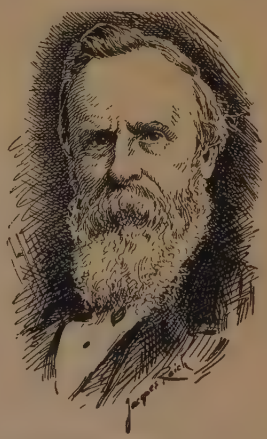
Electrical Development. New and wonderful uses were made of electricity during this period. The most prominent among the men connected with this work is Thomas A. Edison, who has taken out more than a thousand patents. Electricity had already been put to use in the telegraph and as early as 1858 the first Atlantic cable had

been laid by Cyrus W. Field, but had proved a failure. In 1865 he made another and successful attempt, and the Eastern and Western worlds were joined closer together than ever before. Electricity was now employed for lighting houses and streets. C. F. Brush devised an arc light suitable for streets, and in 1879 lights of this kind were used in San Francisco. In the same year Edison made the first practical incandescent light, such as we now use in our houses. The telephone was invented in 1876 by Elisha Gray of Chicago and Alexander Graham Bell of Boston, acting independently. The use of the telephone became common and it was not long before this invention was rivaling the telegraph. Edison, in 1877, invented the phonograph or "sound writer," which made and reproduced the records of the human voice and of musical instruments. The megaphone, a simple paper funnel through which the voice could be heard at a great distance, was invented in 1879.

THOMAS A. EDISON

Rapid Transportation. There was a great demand for rapid transportation within the cities as the horse-cars were not practicable for long distances. In 1876 work was begun on a system of elevated railways for the greater cities and the first such road in the world was built in New

York City in 1866-67. In San Francisco cable cars were introduced in 1879, but in twenty years they were practically supplanted by the electric car which took its power from a wire overhead or from a rail beneath. The success of this invention dates back to 1880. The first electric line was established in Richmond, Virginia, in 1885. The bicycle appeared in the seventies, a curious big wheel with a small wheel in the rear; soon it was replaced by the low wheel "safety" bicycle of today and this has been followed by the motorcycle. At the close of the century the automobile found its way into the remotest neighborhoods. By the dawn of the twentieth century a still stranger means of transportation was developed, the flying machine, which was first made practicable by the Wright Brothers of Dayton, Ohio. It has since been developed to such an extent as to become indispensable in war and of the greatest commercial value to the whole civilized world.



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

Financial Legislation under Hayes. President Hayes'[1] policy in dealing with the South lost him the support of a large element in his own party. Congress was Democratic practically during his whole administration and it was marked by little legislation. The Bland-Allison Act stands out as an important law. For various reasons silver

[1]Rutherford B. Hayes was born in Ohio in 1822. He enlisted in the Federal army at the outbreak of the war and served throughout the entire four years, attaining to the rank of major-general of volunteers. At the close of the war he was elected to Congress, and after serving two years in that body, was governor of his state from 1868 to 1872. He died in 1893.

had been decreasing in value. The silver mine owners of the West believed that this was due chiefly to the demonetization of silver in 1873. The United States had always practiced the free coinage of gold; that is, a person having uncoined gold of required purity might take it to the mint and have it coined or exchange it for coin at no expense except the actual cost of the coinage. Until 1873 silver was coined in the same way and under the same conditions. The amount of silver that received the official stamp of a dollar was about sixteen times as heavy as the gold dollar. The mine owners now urged that the silver dollar again be coined under these conditions, and the result of the agitation was the Bland-Allison Act of 1878 providing for the coinage of a certain number of silver dollars every month.

JAMES A. GARFIELD

Presidential Election of 1880. In 1880 some of the Republican leaders wished to nominate General Grant, who had just returned from a tour of the world, for a third term, but public opinion sustained the precedent set by Washington and Jefferson. James G. Blaine of Maine was the most conspicuous candidate for the Republican nomination, but there was a strong faction in the party opposed to him, and James A. Garfield of Ohio, a "dark horse," was nominated, with Chester A. Arthur of New York for Vice President. The Democrats nominated Winfield Scott Hancock of New York for President and William H. English of Indiana for Vice President. Garfield was elected.

Assassination of Garfield. President Garfield[1] was assassinated, just four months after his inauguration, by Charles J. Guiteau, whom he had refused to appoint to office. After lingering many weeks the President died on the night of September 19. Before day the next morning Vice President Arthur[2] took the oath of office at his home in New York City. Guiteau was tried for murder, found guilty, and executed.

CHESTER A. ARTHUR

Civil Service Reform. Garfield's tragic death at the hands of a disappointed office seeker brought forcibly to public attention the need for reform in the civil service. Ever since Jackson's time Washington had been beseiged by office seekers with the incoming of each new President. Some effort had been made to fill positions in the civil service on the basis of merit, but little progress had been made. In January, 1883, a Civil Service Act was passed providing for appointment of certain offices on the basis of competitive examinations.

[1]James A. Garfield was born in Ohio in 1831. Left fatherless at an early age he worked his way through school and in 1856 graduated at Williams College, Ohio. He spent the early years of his manhood as a teacher. He rose to the rank of major-general in the Union army during the war. He was a representative in Congress from his native state, a member of the Electoral Commission, and in 1880 was elected to the United States Senate, which position he resigned when he was nominated for the Presidency.

[2]Chester A. Arthur was born in Vermont in 1830. He was a graduate of Union College and in 1853 began the practice of law in New York City. During the war he served at different times as quarter-master and inspector-general of New York state troops. In 1871 President Grant appointed him collector of customs at the port of New York, from which position he was removed in 1878 by President Hayes. He died in 1886.

President Arthur was an earnest advocate of this reform. The number of places to be filled under the competitive system has been materially increased during succeeding years. New York established a civil service system in 1883, and soon other states followed her example. The merit system was likewise introduced into some of our cities.

"Star Route" Frauds. Another circumstance that intensified the demand for reform in the civil service was the "star route" frauds. The star routes were those mail routes in the West not yet reached by railroads, where the mails were carried under private contract. This name was applied because the routes were indicated by stars in the list of postoffices. Combinations of the contractors on these routes in a single year had robbed the government of half a million dollars. Investigation revealed that prominent officials were in collusion with the dishonest contractors and they were removed from office. Other improvements in the mail service were the reduction of letter postage from three cents to two cents per ounce and the beginning of the special delivery of letters.

Tariff of 1883. The public debt was rapidly diminishing and as a result of the high war tariff, which was still in force, a surplus was piling up in the treasury, which amounted in 1882 to one hundred and forty-five million dollars. President Arthur suggested a reduction of the tariff to decrease the revenue. In 1882 a tariff commission was appointed to consider the question of revision. The outcome was the tariff of 1883, which, while it reduced a few of the duties, left those on the necessaries of life substantially the same.

Formation of Corporations. As a part of the great industrial activity of these years, business began to be con-

ducted on a large scale. The improvements in means of communication made this possible. Private firms were changed into stock companies or corporations, and there was the beginning of the great enterprises, the combination of many companies, which in these days are recognized as trusts or monopolies. The purpose of these combinations was to increase profits by eliminating competition. Among the first of the trusts was the Standard Oil Company which was chartered in 1870 in Ohio under the leadership of John D. Rockefeller.

Combination of the Railroads. The railroads were quick to recognize the value of combination and they formed the richest and most important of the big corporations. Companies were organized to control a number of short lines, and many of these were linked together to form "trunk lines." In 1880 there were nearly ninety thousand miles of railway in the United States, and transportation was much cheapened. The invention of the Bessemer process for making steel directly from pig iron furnished cheaper and more substantial rails.

Organization of Labor. The combination of business on a big scale was accompanied by strong organizations of the working men. The labor problem is one of the greatest of modern times. When industries were conducted upon a small scale, and employer and employee worked side by side in the same shop, the understanding was so complete that there was seldom cause for strife. In America, before the war, the inviting lands in the West made labor scarce in the factories of the East. But with the rapid diminution of the desirable western lands with the growth of population, and the organization of great enterprises using millions of capital and thousands of employees, these conditions have changed. The employer

and the employees lack the sympathy and understanding of personal contact, and are more easily embittered. Moreover, advancing civilization and enlightenment create a proper desire among working men for more comfort, while conditions of public health and education make a demand for shorter hours and easier terms of labor. The working men formed unions for their protection and used the strike as a means of accomplishing their purposes. The printers' union, organized in New York City in 1853, is the oldest labor union now in existence in the United States. In 1869 the order of the Knights of Labor was founded as a general society open to working men of all trades. In 1884 a Commissioner of Labor was appointed. In 1886 the American Federation of Labor was formed.

Strikes. In the summer of 1877 there were extensive strikes among the employees of several railroads. The first occurred on the Baltimore and Ohio, and was caused by a reduction in wages. Soon on other roads strikes followed until transportation from New York to Kansas and from Michigan to Texas was seriously interrupted. In many places the strikes were attended by rioting and bloodshed. The violence was greatest at Pittsburg, where the rioters held control of the town for several days. About one hundred lives were lost, several trains and stations were burned, and millions of dollars' worth of property was destroyed. Federal troops were sent to the scenes of disturbance, and, after two weeks, order was restored. Trouble broke out also among the anthracite coal miners of Eastern Pennsylvania, and these laborers gained an advance of ten per cent in wages. Other strikes followed in many callings in which the wages of the laborers were low.

Democratic Victory of 1884. In the Presidential election

of 1884, the Republicans declared in favor of a protective tariff and nominated James G. Blaine for the Presidency and John A. Logan of Illinois for the Vice Presidency. The Democrats declared for tariff reform and other reforms and chose a new leader, Grover Cleveland of New York,[1] for the first place and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana for the second place. The campaign was exciting and there was much "mud slinging" on both sides. A considerable faction of the Republicans, called in derision by the rest of the party, the "Mugwumps" (an Indian word meaning big chiefs), supported Cleveland. The Democrats were victorious for the first time in twenty-four years.

GROVER CLEVELAND

Important Acts. The new President was popular in the South, and two of his cabinet, A. H. Garland of Arkansas, and L. Q. C. Lamar of Mississippi, were Confederate veterans. The Senate was Republican and the Democrats could not put into effect their proposed reforms. Nevertheless, Cleveland's first administration showed much

[1]Grover Cleveland was born in New Jersey in 1837. At sixteen he secured his first position as teacher in the New York school for the blind. He practiced law at Buffalo, New York, and after holding several minor public offices, was elected governor of the state, and in that position showed himself fearless in works of reform. At the close of his second presidential term he retired to Princeton, New Jersey, where he died in 1908.

serviceable legislation. In 1877 the Tenure of Office Act, which had caused such a storm of protest when it was enacted during Johnson's administration, was formally repealed. The Electoral Count Act, passed in 1887, provided that each state should be the judge of its own electoral vote. The purpose of the act was to prevent such a crisis as occurred in 1876.

The death of Vice President Hendricks, in 1885, brought forcibly to the attention of the country the necessity of making provision for the Presidential succession. The old law passed in 1792 had provided that in case of the death or disability of both the President and Vice President, the President pro tempore of the Senate should succeed, and in the event of his disability the Speaker of the House of Representatives. But in 1885, when the Vice President died, Congress had not organized and there were no such officers. In January, 1886, a new Presidential Succession Act was passed, which provided that in case of the death or disability of the President and the Vice President the members of the cabinet should succeed in the following order: Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of War, Attorney-General, Postmaster-General, Secretary of the Navy, Secretary of the Interior.[1]

Cleveland recovered about eighty million acres of the public lands in the West that were held by the railroads and other corporations contrary to law. A great deal of fraud had developed in the pension system and he vetoed a number of pension bills.

Interstate Commerce Act of 1887. There were many

[1] At the time of the passage of this law there were only seven cabinet positions. The Secretaries of Agriculture, of Commerce, and of Labor have since been added and were placed on the presidential succession lists by special acts.

complaints against the railroads because of special rates and rebates to large shippers, which worked a hardship on the farmers in the South and the West and the small shippers in every part of the country. Opposition to these practices came principally from the "Grangers," or members of the Patrons of Husbandry, a secret society of farmers and others in the West who maintained that the railroads should be regulated by the government. The Farmers' Alliance, a later organization in the South and in the West, took the same position. In 1887 Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Act, which prohibited the railroads from making discriminations or from charging unjust rates for service, and created a commission of five persons to hear complaints against the railroads and to make reports concerning their business. The powers of the commission have been greatly enlarged by later acts.

Labor Troubles. Hay Market Riots. In the early months of 1886 there were nearly five hundred disputes, many of them developing into strikes, in various parts of the country between big business organizations on the one hand and on the other the labor unions which were demanding higher wages and shorter hours. The most serious trouble was in Chicago, where the demand of the working men for an eight-hour day had been denied. A mob gathered in Hay Market Square to listen to speeches which openly advocated violence and anarchy. The police ordered the mob to disperse, whereupon a bomb was hurled from the crowd and killed seven policemen and wounded sixty others. Seven of the leaders of the mob were sentenced to be executed. As this frightful crime was supposed to be the result of the teachings of foreign anarchists who had immigrated to America, there followed a stricter enforcement of the immigration laws.

The Tariff Question and the Election of 1888. The surplus in the treasury amounted to more than $422,000,000 and the Democrats tried to reduce this by lowering the tariff. The Mills Bill, so-called from its author, Roger Q. Mills of Texas, passed the House in 1888, but failed in the Senate and the tariff became the main issue in the Presidential election of that year. The Democrats opposed a protective tariff on the ground that it kept prices up and worked a hardship on the people, while the Republicans defended it as a means of securing to the American working men better wages than working men in other parts of the world received. Cleveland was renominated and Allen G. Thurman, the "Old Roman" of Ohio, was nominated for the Vice Presidency. The Republicans nominated Benjamin Harrison[1] of Indiana for the Presidency and Levi P. Morton of New York for the Vice Presidency. Harrison was elected, although Cleveland received over one hundred thousand more popular votes.

BENJAMIN HARRISON

McKinley Tariff and Other Legislation. The new administration passed three important acts in 1890. First was the McKinley Tariff Act which imposed high protective duties. This bill contained a reciprocity clause which provided that the United States might abolish duties on

[1]Benjamin Harrison was born in Ohio in 1833. He entered the Federal army in 1862, and by the close of the struggle had risen to the rank of brigadier-general. He served in the United States Senate from 1881 to 1887. After the end of his term as President he resumed the practice of law in Indianapolis, and died in that city in 1901.

certain goods coming from Latin-American countries, if those countries would admit certain American goods free. Second was the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, the purpose of which was to suppress the trusts. Third was the Sherman Silver Law which provided for the purchase of a greater amount of silver than the Bland-Allison Act did.

The Billion Dollar Congress. The Congress which passed these three acts is called the "billion dollar Congress" because of the large appropriations for pensions, the navy, and other purposes. A Dependent Pension Act was passed which greatly increased the number of Northern soldiers and sailors who received pensions, and the annual pension appropriation went to over $100,000,000. When President Arthur was in office, the rebuilding of our navy had begun and from that time forward the construction of new ships was authorized by each Congress. William C. Whitney, Secretary of the Navy under Cleveland, gave further impetus to the development of the navy. In Harrison's time so many new ships were built that the expenditures increased from $17,000,000 in 1889 to $30,000,000 in 1893. The United States now had an imposing "white squadron" of cruisers and a number of torpedo boats and gun-boats, and we rose from twelfth to fifth place among the naval powers of the world.

New States and Territories. In 1889 four new states were admitted to the Union: North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington. In 1890 Wyoming and Idaho came in. Utah was ready for admission but Congress refused until the Mormons abandoned the practice of polygamy, so it was not admitted until 1896. In order to satisfy the demand for lands the government bought from the Indians portions of their holdings in the Indian Territory. The rich district of Oklahoma was

purchased and opened to settlement at twelve o'clock on April 22, 1889. As the blast of the bugle announced the hour, there was a wild rush across the borders into the "beautiful land," and in one year's time more than sixty thousand people settled in the territory of Oklahoma. In 1907 Oklahoma and Indian Territory were combined and admitted to the Union as the state of Oklahoma.

Foreign Affairs. Important foreign affairs claimed the attention of the administration. Our fishing rights off the Grand Banks secured in the treaty of Washington had expired in 1885 and this question had been adjusted during Cleveland's administration. The seal herds of the Pacific were being rapidly destroyed by the wholesale butchering of Canadian and British hunters. The United States protested against this and claimed exclusive rights over Behring Sea. Great Britain objected because nations have exclusive control only of enclosed seas and of the high seas only three miles from the shore line. The matter was referred to a tribunal of arbitration which met at Paris and in 1893 decided against the United States. But steps were taken to protect the seals.

The chief of police of New Orleans was assassinated by Italians, members of a secret society known as the "Mafia." Eleven Italians were tried for the offense and acquitted. A mob, indignant at the decison of the jury, battered down the doors of the jail, seized the Italians, and put them to death, March, 1891. Three of them were Italian subjects, and for these Italy demanded punishment of the lynchers and reparation. The United States explained that the question of punishment rested with the state of Louisiana, but agreed to pay twenty-five thousand dollars to the families of the slain.

In 1891 a serious break came in our relations with Chile.

That country was in the throes of a revolution and one of the factions was hostile to the United States. Sailors of the United States ship *Baltimore,* who were in the city of Valparaiso on shore leave, were attacked and one man was killed. The United States government immediately demanded reparation and an apology for the outrage, and when Chile was slow to comply, threatened war. Chile then agreed to pay a money indemnity of seventy-five thousand dollars.

Pan-American Congress. The second Pan-American Congress met at Washington in 1889. Its purpose was to promote a greater friendliness and more extensive trade relations among the American republics. The reciprocity clause of the McKinley tariff was a result. The Congress agreed to hold other meetings from time to time and a Pan-American Union was formed. A beautiful building for the Union has been erected at Washington largely through the generosity of Andrew Carnegie.

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PAN-AMERICAN BUILDING

Pacific Interests. We had established a coaling station in the harbor of Pago-Pago in the Samoan Islands where Germany and Great Britain both had interests. In an attempt to control the group, Germany participated in the revolution among the islanders and armed Germans seized the American flag. This was released, but the United States sent war vessels to Samoa and the situation looked serious. A hurricane destroyed nearly all the vessels of all

three nations and the trouble subsided. In 1889 the United States, Germany, and Great Britain established a protectorate over the islands, but in 1899 this agreement was dissolved, the United States received the island of Tutuila, and the remainder of the group was transferred to Germany.

The Hawaiian Islands, about two thousand miles west of San Francisco, had been developed largely by American missionaries and traders. The American party in the islands, aided by the United States marines, deposed Queen Liliuokalani and set up a provisional government which requested annexation to the United States. A treaty of annexation was sent to the Senate for ratification, but before it was voted on, President Cleveland had returned to power and he sent a commission to investigate affairs in the islands. It was found that a majority of the Hawaiian people did not want annexation and the treaty was withdrawn. But the queen was not restored and a republic of Hawaii was established.

The Populist Movement and the Election of 1892. For several years there had been discontent in the South and West. The price of cotton and of grain had declined and drought conditions had brought crop failures and general distress in the agricultural regions of the West. The Farmers' Alliance now developed into the Populist or People's party. They condemned the McKinley Tariff as benefiting only the manufacturers and merchants of the East, demanding among other things the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and nominated for the Presidency James B. Weaver of Iowa, and James G. Field of Virginia for the Vice Presidency. The Republicans renominated Harrison with Whitelaw Reid of New York for the Vice Presidency. The Democrats again put forth

Cleveland as their leader with Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois for second place. They fought it out over the tariff as in 1888. Cleveland was elected and was our first President to serve a second term not consecutive with the first. The new Populist party had polled more than a million votes.

Panic of 1893; Wilson Tariff. In the summer of 1893 the worst panic we have ever had swept over the country. A number of causes produced this disaster, among them, short crops, the heavy expenditures of the government during the Harrison administration, and the great demand for gold all over the world. A special session of Congress was called to consider measures of relief. The Sherman Silver Law was repealed and bonds were issued to be sold for gold in order to increase the available supply of that coin for redeeming other currency. In 1894 the Wilson Tariff Bill became a law. President Cleveland did not believe that the reduction of duties in the bill was sufficient and did not approve it, but the bill became a law without his signature; that is, he kept it ten days (Sundays excepted) before returning it to Congress.

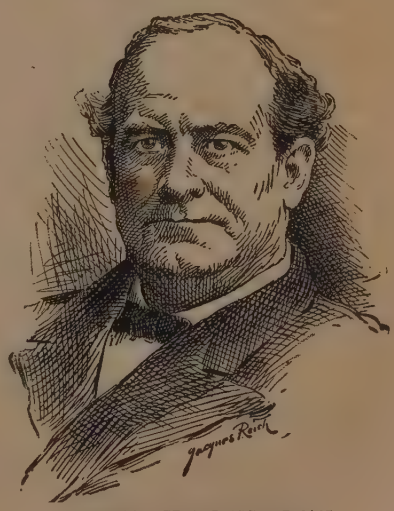
Labor Troubles. Many business houses failed during the panic, factories were shut down, and thousands of men were thrown out of work. This produced serious labor disturbances all over the country. During the Presidential campaign a strike broke out among the employees of the Carnegie Steel Company at Homestead, Pennsylvania, caused by a reduction of wages. An army of Pinkerton detectives employed by the company greatly exasperated the laborers and the militia was called out before order was restored. A large body of unemployed men, popularly described as "Coxey's Army," marched to Washington to urge measures of relief. Conditions were worse in Chi-

cago. The Pullman Car Company discharged some of its workmen and reduced wages on account of general hard times. The employees went on a strike, and other unions of railway men decided to go out on a sympathetic strike unless the Pullman Company would consent to settle by arbitration. This demand was refused and extensive strikes followed. Pullman coaches were burned and other railroad property was destroyed, the trains were stopped by mobs, and practically all the railroad traffic at Chicago was suspended. Under the Constitution, the President may send troops to put down a disturbance within a state when so requested by the governor or the state legislature. No such request was made, but President Cleveland, in the exercise of his authority to protect the mails and interstate commerce, sent Federal troops to Chicago who quickly suppressed the rioting and restored order.

World's Fair at Chicago. Other Expositions. Since the centennial there had been held at Atlanta in 1881 the International Cotton Exposition and at New Orleans in 1884 the Cotton Centennial which revealed the rapid growth of the South. In 1893, in the midst of this period of depression, the United States celebrated the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by a World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago. It was to have been held in 1892, but the preparations could not be completed in time. The magnitude and splendor of the "White City," as the exposition was called, the generous displays of foreign nations, and the wonderful collection of the products of the arts and sciences made this great fair a success that aroused the pride of all Americans and challenged the admiration of the whole world. Two years after the close of the exposition at Chicago, another on a smaller scale was held at Atlanta, Georgia.

The Venezuelan Boundary Controversy. For half a century Great Britain and Venezuela had been in a controversy over the western boundary of British Guiana. Venezuela had repeatedly appealed to the United States to interpose in her behalf. Finally, in 1895, when the British gave no signs of considering the claims of Venezuela, the United States urged that the boundary dispute be settled by arbitration. Great Britain refused. Then President Cleveland declared that any aggression or injustice by a foreign power against any of the American republics was a violation of the Monroe Doctrine and would be resisted by the United States. The President appointed a commission to determine the boundary. Great Britain soon agreed to settle the matter by arbitration, and in 1896 the dispute was satisfactorily adjusted.

Election of 1896. Many people believed that one of the main causes of the panic of 1893 was the demonetization of silver, so the silver question was the chief issue in the Presidential election of 1896. The Republicans declared in favor of a gold standard, or of both gold and silver under an agreement with foreign powers. They nominated William McKinley of Ohio for the Presidency and Garrett A. Hobart of New Jersey for the Vice Presidency. The Democrats declared in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver



WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

at the ratio of sixteen to one independently of the action of any other country. William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska gained the nomination for the Presidency by an impassioned speech championing the cause of the masses. Arthur Sewall of Maine was nominated for Vice President. The Silver Republicans bolted and supported Bryan and many Gold Democrats voted for McKinley, although they had put up a separate candidate, John M. Palmer of Illinois. The Populists supported Bryan with Thomas E. Watson of Georgia for the Vice Presidency. McKinley and Hobart were elected.

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

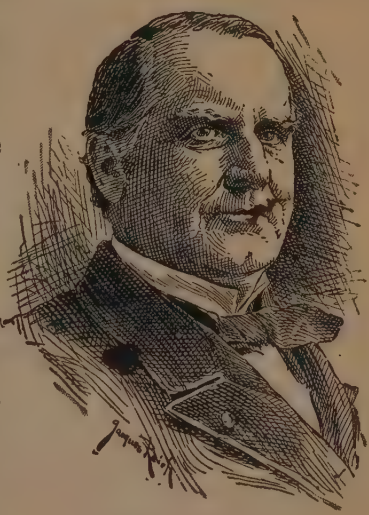
1. Why did the South recover so rapidly after 1876?
2. What is meant by the "gold standard?" By the "free coinage" of silver?
3. How did the building of the trans-continental railroad bring up the question of immigration? Of labor unions?
4. Name six great inventions by Edison.
5. Who invented the telephone?
6. What is meant by "civil service reform?"
7. What had been the motto with regard to appointment of government employees? Who originated it?
8. What effect did the assassination of Garfield have upon this question? Why?
9. What mainly caused Cleveland's success in 1884?
10. What caused trouble with Italy during this period? With England? with Chile? How was each case settled?
11. What caused the panic of 1893?
12. What new party grew rapidly at this time? What did this show as to conditions in the country?
13. Why did the governor of Illinois object to Federal troops in the Chicago trouble of 1894?
14. Why could the United States not punish the men who lynched the Italians in New Orleans?

CHAPTER XXV

THE SPANISH WAR: THE UNITED STATES A WORLD POWER

WILLIAM MCKINLEY, President, 1897-1901
GARRETT A. HOBART, Vice President, 1897-1899
THEODORE ROOSEVELT, Vice President, then President, 1901-1909
CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS, Vice-President, 1904-1909

Financial Legislation. McKinley[1] soon called an extra session of Congress and a new bill known as the Dingley Tariff was passed in 1897. This raised the duties as high as the McKinley Tariff. In 1900 the Gold Standard Act made the gold dollar the unit of value. But a war with Spain overshadowed internal affairs in McKinley's first administration.



WILLIAM MC KINLEY

The Importance of Cuba. Cuba, Porto Rico, and a few adjacent islands were all that was left in the New World of the great colonial empire which had made Spain one of the greatest nations of the earth in the sixteenth century. The position of Cuba made it the key to the Gulf of Mexico and for many

[1]William McKinley was born in Ohio in 1843. When the War Between the States began he was a teacher in a country school, but he resigned his position and enlisted in the Federal army, rising to the rank of major. He served seven consecutive terms in Congress and in 1890 he took the principal part in framing the tariff law that bears his name. In 1891 he was elected governor of his state. He was a man of great tact and deep sincerity.

years the United States had realized the importance either of owning the island herself or of guaranteeing Spain's possession in order that Great Britain, France, or some other great power might not acquire it. After the Mexican War and our treaties and plans for an isthmian canal, the island became even more important to us and we made several unsuccessful attempts to buy it. A great deal of American capital was invested in the sugar plantations of the island and there was an extensive trade between Cuba and the United States.

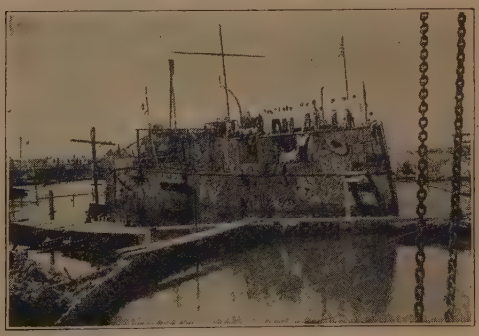
Trouble in Cuba. Spain's government of her colonies was harsh and Cuba was almost constantly in a state of revolution. Filibustering expeditions of Americans co-operated with the Cubans at times in their efforts to throw off the Spanish rule. In a cruel and wasting war lasting from 1868 to 1878, known as the "Ten Years War," the Cubans were overcome. Again in 1895 war broke out. The United States remained neutral, although Gomez and Garcia, the leaders of the insurgents, were anxious for intervention. President Cleveland issued a proclamation warning persons against committing acts unfriendly to Spain, nevertheless arms and supplies were secretly sent to the Cuban insurgents by a "junta" or council of wealthy citizens in the United States.

Weyler's Concentration Policy. In February, 1896, Spain sent General Weyler as governor-general of Cuba to crush the insurrection. In order to starve the rebels into submission, he concentrated the inhabitants into towns and cities where they could be overawed by the soldiers. They were not given sufficient food or proper shelter and many died of fever and starvation. In the province of Havana alone, of over one hundred thousand thus concentrated, fifty-two thousand died. Homes were given to the flames,

crops were destroyed, and everything that might support the insurrection was swept away. Many Americans on the island suffered.

These conditions aroused American sympathy and indignation, and, in 1897, President McKinley sent a special commission to investigate affairs in Cuba, and Congress appropriated fifty thousand dollars as a relief fund for the Americans living there. The government also warned Spain that if the wretched conditions did not improve this country would be forced to intervene for the protection of its own interests and for the sake of suffering humanity. Spain then promised certain reforms and General Weyler was recalled and General Blanco, the new governor-general, adopted less cruel means. But Blanco's policy brought no improvement in Cuba. It was too late for concessions; nothing short of independence would satisfy the Cubans.

Sinking of the Maine. The United States battleship *Maine* had been sent to Cuba as a matter of precaution for the protection of Americans there, and for several weeks had been anchored in Havana harbor. On the night of February 15, 1898, the ship was destroyed by an explosion and two of her officers and two hundred and fifty-eight of her crew killed. The President at once appointed a naval court



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THE MAINE AS IT APPEARED WHEN RAISED FROM THE SEA IN 1912

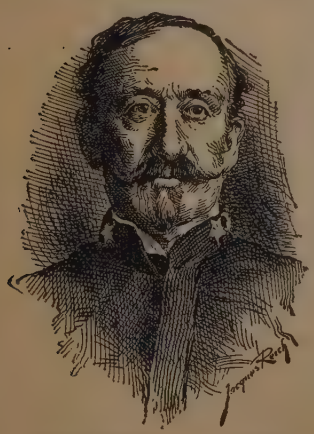
of inquiry, which after four weeks of investigation, with the aid of a strong corps of expert divers and wreckers, reported that the *Maine* was blown up by the explosion of a submarine mine. The Spaniards claimed that the destruction of the vessel was due to an explosion of one of her magazines. The American view was afterwards confirmed, but it has never been ascertained who was responsible for the mine. In the United States war feeling was rife, and "Remember the Maine!" became the popular cry.

War Declared. President McKinley stated in his message to Congress on April 11, 1898, "In the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American interests, which give us the right and duty to speak and act, the war in Cuba must stop." Congress on April 19, passed joint resolutions, declaring: first, that the people of Cuba "are and of right ought to be free and independent"; second, that Spain should withdraw her troops and "at once relinquish her authority and government" over the island; third, that the United States had no intention of possessing Cuba and would return the island to the Cubans as soon as peace and order were restored. On April 25, war was formally declared between the United States and Spain. The President issued calls for two hundred thousand volunteers.

Preparations for War. Our coast fortifications were strengthened and the principal harbors were mined. The troops, both regulars and volunteers, were concentrated at Chickamauga, Tampa, and other places where they could be easily transported to Cuba. Our navy consisted principally of four battleships of the first class, two armored cruisers, and some lighter craft, and many merchant vessels and pleasure boats were refitted for government use. On

the whole, it was thought Spain had a better navy than ours. Through the efforts of Theodore Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, the men had been engaged in target practice for months, and in the accuracy of our gunners we had a decided advantage. Our ships in European and South Atlantic waters were ordered to Key West, where the main fleet was stationed under Rear Admiral William T. Sampson, who was placed in command of the entire naval force in the North Atlantic. This fleet was to blockade the coast of Cuba. The "Flying Squadron," under Commodore W. S. Schley, assembled at Hampton Roads to await the appearance of the Spanish fleet in the West Indies. The *Oregon*, a first class battleship, was on the coast of Washington, and she was ordered around Cape Horn to join Sampson. Meantime, it was known that on April 29 a division of the Spanish fleet under Admiral Cervera had left the Cape Verde Islands, and the appearance of the Spanish ships in American waters was eagerly expected.

REAR ADMIRAL WILLIAM T. SAMPSON



COMMODORE W. S. SCHLEY

Dewey's Victory at Manila. While the Spanish ships were on their way across the Atlantic, a great battle was

fought and won in the Pacific. The American squadron in Asiatic waters under the command of Commodore George Dewey was anchored off Hong Kong at the outbreak of the war. Dewey was ordered to seek the Spanish fleet and capture or destroy it. He immediately steamed toward the Philippine Islands, another relic of Spain's colonial greatness. On the night of April 30, the American fleet, with the flagship *Olympia* leading, daringly slipped into Manila Bay, despite the bristling Spanish cannon that guarded the entrance and the mines within the harbor. At daybreak, the Spanish fleet commanded by Admiral Montojo and consisting of ten inferior vessels was seen lying to the west. Dewey had nine vessels far better than those of the Spaniards, but the latter had the protection of the guns of Cavité.

The battle began at five o'clock in the morning and the American fleet swung past the enemy five times, pouring broadsides into the Spanish ships. The Americans handled their guns rapidly and accurately. So overwhelming was the fire that by one o'clock Montojo's flagship, the *Reina Christina,* and most of his other ships were in flames. Three hundred and eighty-one Spaniards were killed and many more wounded. Not an American vessel was seriously injured, not a man killed, and only seven were wounded. The defenses of Cavité surrendered. When the news of this victory reached Washington, Americans went wild with joy. Dewey[1] was raised to the rank of admiral, and Congress voted him the thanks of the nation. Dewey could not take the town of Manila because he did not have the men to hold it and reinforcements were sent

[1]George Dewey was born in Vermont in 1837. He served under Admiral Farragut in the War Between the States. In 1896 he was advanced to the rank of commodore. He was the third man in our naval service to hold the rank of admiral. He died in 1917.

him from San Francisco, but two months elapsed before they reached the Philippines. In the meantime a strong German squadron, anchored off the Philippines, disregarding Dewey's blockade, tried to land provisions for the Spaniards. Dewey sent Lieutenant Brumby to tell the German commander that "if he wants a fight he can have it right now." After this message the Germans were more considerate of American rights.

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STREET SCENE IN MANILA

Blockade of Cervera. Soon attention was concentrated on events as thrilling nearer home. When it was known that Cervera had started westward from the Cape Verde Islands, Schley was ordered to move with his "Flying Squadron" into West India waters and join Sampson where the two fleets were to watch and to wait. But Cervera slipped into the well-protected harbor of Santiago on the southeast coast of Cuba. As soon as he was located, Sampson[1] and Schley,[2] whose fleets had been joined by the

[1]William T. Sampson was born in New York in 1840; was graduated at the Naval Academy in 1861, and served in the Union navy in the War Between the States. He was superintendent of the Naval Academy from 1886 to 1890, and was president of the investigation committee to ascertain the cause of the destruction of the *Maine*. He died in 1902.

[2]Winfield Scott Schley was born in Maryland in 1839. He was graduated at Annapolis, and later served as instructor there. He served in the Union navy during the War Between the States, attaining the rank of lieutenant. After the war he was made rear-admiral. He died in 1911.

Oregon after her record-breaking voyage of fourteen thousand miles around South America, closed in on Cervera and "bottled him up" in Santiago harbor. To prevent his slipping out of the harbor, on a dark night Lieutenant Richmond Pearson Hobson and seven companions with superb daring attempted, in the face of a terrific fire from the Spanish guns, to sink the collier *Merrimac* in mid-channel at the entrance to Santiago Bay. But unfortunately a shot carried away the rudder of the little collier and she was sunk to one side of the channel and thus only partly obstructed it. Hobson and his men were picked up by the Spaniards and held prisoners at Morro Castle; later they were exchanged. The blockade of Cervera's fleet lasted a month.

On to Santiago. Thus far the war had been confined to the navy. As soon as the Spanish fleet was shut up in the harbor at Santiago, it was decided to send an army to co-operate with the navy by attacking the town from the land side. A force of about fifteen thousand men under General Wm. R. Shafter was sent to Cuba. Conspicuous among these troops was a volunteer regiment of cavalry popularly known as Roosevelt's "Rough Riders," under the command of Colonel Leonard Wood and Lieutenant-Colonel Theodore Roosevelt. This

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SANTIAGO HARBOR — CUBA

regiment was recruited from cowboys, hunters, and ranchmen of the West and Southwest, and in its ranks had more than one hundred and sixty full-blooded Indians, together with graduates of many of our best colleges. The troops landed at Daiquiri, about seventeen miles south of Santiago, on June 22, and together with the Cuban insurgents under General Garcia, they began their march upon Santiago.

An advance guard of regulars under Generals Lawton and Joseph Wheeler, with the "Rough Riders," moved rapidly through the tropical forest and met the enemy on June 24, at Las Guasimas, where the Americans won. The Americans had to face unusual difficulties; the roads were rough, hardly more than bridle paths, and often the troops had to march in columns of two. The intense heat and the heavy rains spread disease among them. They had poor food and improper clothing. On July 2, General Lawton's brigade and the dismounted cavalry under General Joseph Wheeler attacked El Caney, a fortified town near Santiago. Here the Spaniards, although they had fewer than a thousand men to our three thousand five hundred, defended their position with stubborn bravery and held the Americans in check until late in the afternoon when the Spanish works were carried by storm and several hundred prisoners were taken. The Spaniards used smokeless powder which made it hard to locate them, while the black powder our men used easily indicated their position. On the same day an assault was made on San Juan Hill, and the "Rough Riders," commanded by Colonel Roosevelt, who had succeeded to the command upon the promotion of Colonel Wood, distinguished themselves by their pluck and daring in the mad charge up the hill. Other charges also were made on July 2, and the combined

engagements are known as the battle of Santiago. It was the most important land battle of the war. About six thousand men in all were engaged. We lost two hundred and forty-one killed and about fourteen hundred wounded. Many of the suffering and wounded lay for hours in the brush before relief could be furnished. The Spanish loss was even greater.

Destruction of Cervera's Fleet. In the meantime Sampson and Schley were standing guard at the entrance to the harbor. When the Americans advanced upon Santiago from the land side the Spanish ships determined to make a wild dash for liberty, and Cervera, with skill and bravery, tried to lead his fleet out of the harbor. Admiral Sampson was absent conferring with General Shafter, when a thin column of smoke seen far up the bay announced the approach of the Spanish fleet. Soon there was a wild running fight. As at Manila, the superior marksmanship of the Americans told with deadly effect and in a few hours the six war vessels of the Spanish fleet were either sunk or captured. About six hundred Spaniards were killed or drowned, and over thirteen hundred were taken prisoners, among them their brave admiral, Cervera. Our men did heroic work in rescuing the Spaniards from their sinking and burning ships. The American vessels were practically uninjured. But one man was killed and one wounded, both on the *Brooklyn,* Schley's flagship. Two weeks after this battle, General Toral, in command of the Spanish forces at Santiago, numbering about twenty-two thousand, surrendered to General Shafter, and practically the entire island of Cuba passed into the hands of the United States.

Conquest of Porto Rico. Surrender of Manila. After the surrender of Santiago, General Miles, with about seven-

teen thousand troops, mostly volunteers, invaded Porto Rico, a fertile island some five hundred miles southeast of Cuba. He landed at Ponce, and took possession of the town and the railroad leading to San Juan, the capital of the island. San Juan was taken and the whole southern and eastern portions of the island conquered. All hostilities were suspended by the news that on August 12, a peace protocol was signed between the United States and Spain. The news, however, did not reach the Far East for several days, and the last engagement of the war was in the Philippines. On August 13, Manila was taken by the combined attack of the army and navy. Filipino insurgents fought with the American army. The fall of Manila marked the end of Spanish authority in the Philippines.

Peace of Paris. After the protocol or preliminary treaty was signed on August 12, at Washington, both nations appointed commissioners to meet at Paris, France, October 1, to arrange the final terms of peace. On December 10, 1898, the following terms were agreed upon: First, Spain renounced all claim to Cuba; second, Porto Rico and all other islands of the West Indies under Spanish dominion, likewise the island of Guam in the Ladrones, were ceded to the United States; third, Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States and we agreed to pay in exchange the sum of twenty million dollars within three months and for ten years to admit Spanish ships and goods free to the ports of the Philippines.

The treaty met with much opposition in the Senate on account of the clause dealing with the Philippines. Many opposed annexation, and believed that we should turn the islands over to the Filipinos themselves. Gradually the view prevailed that holding the Philippines was an obliga-

tion in order to keep them from falling into misrule even greater than that of Spain, and that they would be of advantage in our trade with China and other parts of the Far East. The treaty was ratified February 6, 1899.

Other Results of the War. But there were other results of the war besides our gain in territory and Spain's loss of "the last memory of a glorious past." The war cost the United States about three hundred million dollars in money. A War Revenue Act was passed to increase the internal revenue and a stamp tax was imposed on special articles. But the country was prosperous and the taxes were not burdensome.

A bitter controversy between the friends of Sampson and Schley as to who was in command at the battle of Santiago and who deserved the credit and the glory attracted the attention of the whole country. A naval court of inquiry was appointed to investigate the matter, but failed to reach a decision. The matter was appealed to Roosevelt who settled the question by saying, "It was a captain's fight"; that is, that after the battle began the ships did not take orders from any commander, but each fought for itself.

Great Britain had sympathized with us during the war, and at its close there was a strong feeling of friendship between the two nations. Still another result of the war was the closer and deeper sympathy between the North and the South and the realization of the oneness of the nation. We also rose in the esteem of the great nations of the world. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the United States was a feeble third rate power; in the early twentieth it is recognized as a world power of the first importance.

Our New Possessions. Of our Spanish acquisitions,

Guam was small and important only as a coaling station. Porto Rico was at first put under military rule, but in April, 1900, a territorial government was established. Free trade was permitted with the United States and this has brought great prosperity to the island. The Porto Ricans have also made marked progress in education since their change of government. After Dewey's victory at Manila the control of the Hawaiian Islands became of great importance to our Pacific interests and the Islands were annexed to the United States in 1898 and put under territorial government two years later.

Philippine Insurrection. The Philippine archipelago contains three thousand one hundred and forty-one islands, only about three hundred and forty-two of which are inhabited. Luzon, the largest in the group, is about the size of Tennessee. The chief products are sugar, manila hemp, tobacco, coffee and indigo. At the close of the war the native Filipinos, led by Emilio Aguinaldo, had rebelled against Spanish rule, and they now resisted the terms of peace, saying that they were fighting for their independence and not for a change of masters. Ten thousand additional American troops were sent to aid in the pacification of the islands. The natives, driven from their position near

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

Manila, took up guerilla warfare, and for two years a fierce and cruel struggle was maintained. The Americans succeeded in gradually pushing their way into remote regions and, at length, in March, 1901, Aguinaldo was captured by a band of soldiers under General Frederick Funston and soon the insurrection was at an end. Judge William H. Taft was made governor of the islands, and during his two and a half years of service did much to restore order and contentment. Schools have been established and hundreds of American teachers have gone to the Islands.

The Filipinos have been appointed to offices and are gradually being trained in self-government. In 1916 an act was passed to give the Philippines their independence whenever, in the discretion of the President, they are capable of self-government.

The Republic of Cuba. In January, 1899, the Spanish soldiers evacuated Cuba, and the United States then set up a military government which lasted until 1902. Under the direction of Major-General Wood order was quickly restored, just taxes were levied, and a system of public schools was established. Cuban industries that had been paralyzed during the war, particularly sugar-growing, were once more put upon a profitable basis. The sanitation of the cities was a wonderful work for the health of the people. The United States spent $10,000,000 in this work. Major Walter Reed, a surgeon in the United States army, discovered that yellow fever is imparted by the bite of a mosquito. As a result of the preventive measures following this discovery, Havana was free from yellow fever for the first time in one hundred and forty years.

The Cubans framed a constitution modeled after that of the United States, in which they agreed that no foreign power could acquire or control any of their territory, and

that the United States would have the right to maintain, by force, if necessary, the independence of Cuba. Tomás Estrada Palma was elected President, and on May 20, 1902, the United States officials withdrew and the Republic of Cuba entered upon her independent career. In 1903 a reciprocity agreement was arranged by which the duties of the Dingley Tariff Act were changed so as to permit a reduction on Cuban goods imported into the United States and Cuba permitted certain American goods to enter her ports at reduced rates. In 1906 an insurrection broke out in Cuba and the United States had to set up a provisional government once more. But in 1909 Cuba was again restored to the Cubans.

The Open Door. The Boxer Uprising. We had developed a trade with China second only to England's. But by the close of the Spanish War our interests were endangered by the attempts of the Great Powers to divide up China among themselves and gain exclusive trading privileges. John Hay, who was Secretary of State, in order to protect the United States and China, too, secured an agreement to the "open door in China," by which is meant that all nations should have equal trading rights there.

In the meantime, this selfish scramble for their territory aroused among the Chinese a bitter hatred for all foreigners. In 1900 the "Boxers," presumably an athletic organization, but really a powerful secret society, began a determined war on the foreigners. The imperial troops aided them in their work of destruction. Numbers of foreigners were murdered, among them the German minister. The other representatives of foreign governments and many missionaries took refuge in the British legation, where they were besieged for weeks. For a time all communication with the outside world was cut off, and the

situation was critical in the extreme. Finally, in August, 1900, an allied relief force composed of Americans, Europeans, and Japanese reached Peking in time to save the foreign ministers. The Boxers were dispersed and the uprising was at an end. The nations whose citizens and property were injured forced China to agree to the following: First, the leaders of the uprising were to be put to death; second, an indemnity of $300,000,000 was to be paid. Of this, $24,000,000 went to the United States, but it was later found to be too much and we returned more than half to China. To show her gratitude that country has set aside this sum to be used for the education of Chinese in American colleges.

Re-election of McKinley. In 1900 McKinley was re-elected and Theodore Roosevelt was elected Vice President. The times were prosperous and the Republicans used "the full dinner-pail" as their campaign slogan. The Democrats nominated Bryan again, with Adlai E. Stevenson for Vice President. They still urged the free coinage of silver, and, declaring against imperialism, put themselves on record as standing for the independence of the Philippines with a promise on our part to protect them against interference by foreign powers.

Pan-American Exposition. Assassination of McKinley. In May, 1901, a great Pan-American Exposition was opened at Buffalo, the purpose of which was to exhibit the resources of the American republics. Here on September 6, President McKinley was shot by Leon Czolgosz, an anarchist, and on September 14 he died—the third of our Presidents within forty years to be shot down by assassins. The whole nation mourned. Czolgosz was tried for murder and executed. Theodore Roosevelt took the oath of office at Buffalo a few hours after McKinley's death.

The Growth of Trusts. During Roosevelt's[1] first administration the country again became alarmed at the growth of the trusts. The years since 1897 had been marked by a great wave of prosperity and, disregarding the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, business of all kinds began to combine on a large scale. Many separate railroads lines were merged until finally the whole railroad system of the country was owned and controlled by a few groups of men. Sugar refining companies, tobacco manufacturers, and many others united. But the biggest trust of all was the United States Steel Corporation which had a capital stock of $1,100,000,000. The defenders of the trusts argued that the combination of many companies would eliminate competition and make production cheaper. But the public regarded this enormous power and wealth in the hands of a few men as a menace. Suit was brought against a number of the trusts and some of them were forced to dissolve. Laws were passed increasing the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission and extending the Sherman Anti-Trust Law.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

[1]Theodore Roosevelt was born in New York City in 1858. He was graduated at Harvard in 1880, and, after holding various minor political offices in New York, he moved in 1884 to North Dakota where he lived the life of a ranchman. When Benjamin Harrison was President, Roosevelt was on the Civil Service Commission, and did a great deal toward the extension of the merit system. After his service in the Spanish War, which made him immensely popular, he was elected governor of New York on the Republican ticket. He died in January, 1919.

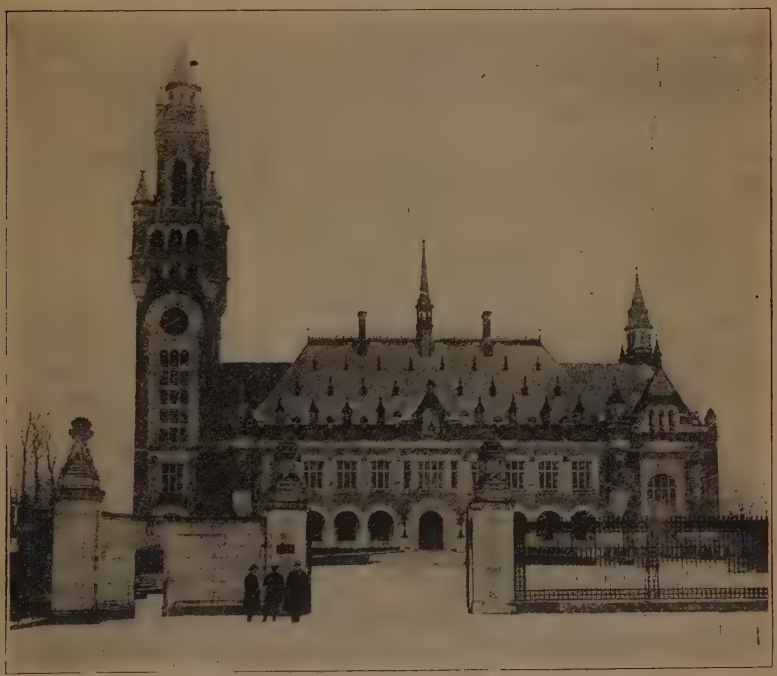
Labor Troubles. With the growth of the trusts came more labor troubles. In 1901 the steel workers struck again and lost. The anthracite coal miners struck in 1900 and gained some concessions. In 1902 they went out on another strike which lasted five months and the conditions became serious as the public faced the prospect of a coalless winter. President Roosevelt intervened and the owners consented to settle the trouble by arbitration. At Cripple Creek, Colorado, in 1903 the western miners went on a strike which was accompanied by much violence. The inhabitants of the town formed themselves into vigilance committees and restored order.

The Hague Conferences. In 1899, at the suggestion of the Czar of Russia, the first Peace Conference had been held at The Hague in Holland for the purpose of promoting peace and diminishing the great expense of maintaining navies and armies. There were twenty-seven nations represented at the Conference, the United States being prominent among the number. The Conference agreed to submit disputes wherever possible to an international court of arbitration as a step toward bringing about universal peace.

The first case submitted to this court was the "Pious Fund" case in 1902. This was a fund established for missionary work in California in the seventeenth century. After California was ceded to the United States, Mexico ceased to pay the income due the California missions. The court decided in favor of California. In 1904 President Roosevelt proposed a second Peace Conference. Delegates from forty-four nations assembled at The Hague in 1907 and their deliberations further aided the cause of peace. This Conference drew up a code of international rules, called The Hague Conventions, for regulating the conduct

of war. The nations represented pledged themselves to observe these Conventions.

The Alaskan Boundary. A dispute with Great Britain over the boundary of Alaska was also settled by arbitration. When Alaska was purchased from Russia in 1867, the boundary line between it and Canada was indefinite.



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PEACE BUILDING AT THE HAGUE

The discovery of rich deposits of gold in the Klondike region in 1897 caused a rush of miners to the country. The Canadians now laid claim to a portion of Alaska, which the Americans likewise claimed. The question was submitted to a board of arbitration, which, in 1903, sustained the American claim.

The Panama Canal. During Roosevelt's first administration work on the Panama Ca l was begun. Neither England nor the United States ıd taken any steps toward carrying out the plans for a canal agreed upon in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850. In 1880 a French company began a canal across the Isthmus of Panama, but it was a failure and in 1889 operations were suspended. The commercial value of such a canal had long been evident and during the Spanish War its naval value was shown in a dramatic manner by the *Oregon's* wonderful voyage

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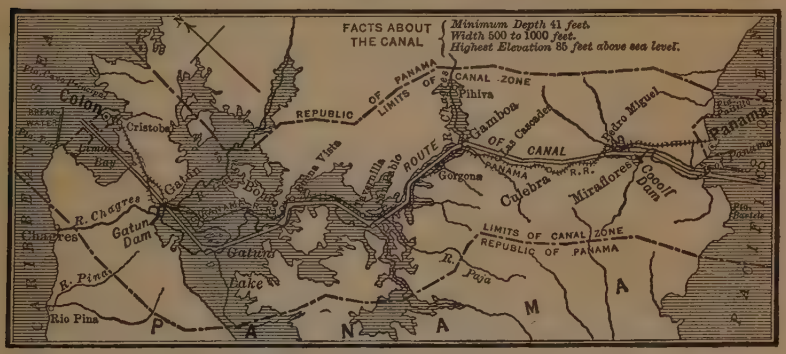
THE PANAMA CANAL TODAY

around Cape Horn. The canal now came to be regarded as a necessity and public sentiment in the United States demanded that we build and control it.

Great Britain agreed to cancel the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, and in 1901 we made a new treaty known as the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, by which the United States was to have the sole power "to construct, control, and defend an isthmian canal for the benefit of the commerce of the world." A canal through Nicaragua had many advocates, notable among them General John T. Morgan, senator

from Alabama. But instead of using this route, the United States purchased from the French their works at Panama for forty million dollars, and proposed to pay the United States of Colombia ten million for exclusive control of a strip of land across the isthmus for the building of a canal. Colombia refused to accept our terms and Panama, a state within the United States of Colombia, feeling that her interests had been sacrificed, seceded and set up the independent Republic of Panama, November 3, 1903, and on November 6 received official recognition from the United States. On November 18, a new canal treaty was made, known as the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty which



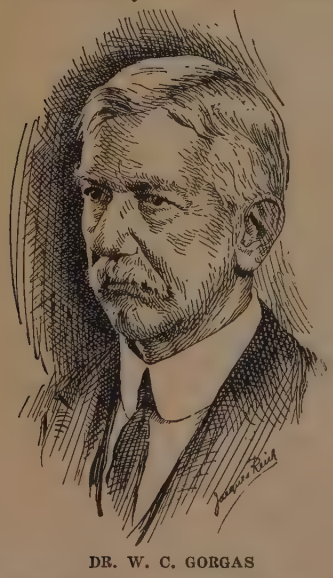
THE PANAMA CANAL AND THE CANAL ZONE

granted to the United States the exclusive control of a zone of land ten miles wide for the construction of a canal for which we agreed to pay the sum of ten million dollars down, and after nine years to pay a yearly sum of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The canal was estimated to cost about one hundred and forty million dollars, but the final cost has been more than $350,000,000. We have fortified the canal, but in time of war it has to be kept open even to our enemies.

The work has been done by United States army engi-

neers, chief of whom was Colonel George W. Goethals, and it is one of the greatest engineering works ever accomplished. The canal was opened to the commerce of the world August 15, 1914, and in July, 1919, the American navy passed through on a Pacific cruise. During the first five years of its operation the canal has proved a paying investment in spite of the falling off in commerce during the World War. After four hundred years the dream of Columbus has been realized.

Sanitation of the Canal Zone. Proper health conditions were necessary to the construction of the canal, and one of the first steps taken by the United States was an effort to drive out malarial and yellow fever from the Canal Zone. Dr. W. C. Gorgas, who had conducted the "clean up" campaign in Cuba, was placed in charge of the sanitary department and achieved one of the greatest successes in the history of medicine. Malarial and yellow fever are now practically unknown, and all sickness has been reduced to a minimum.



DR. W. C. GORGAS

Election of 1904. In 1904 the Republicans nominated Theodore Roosevelt for the Presidency and Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana for the Vice Presidency. The Democrats chose Judge Alton B. Parker of New York for the first place and Henry G. Davis of West Virginia for the second. The Republicans were again victorious.

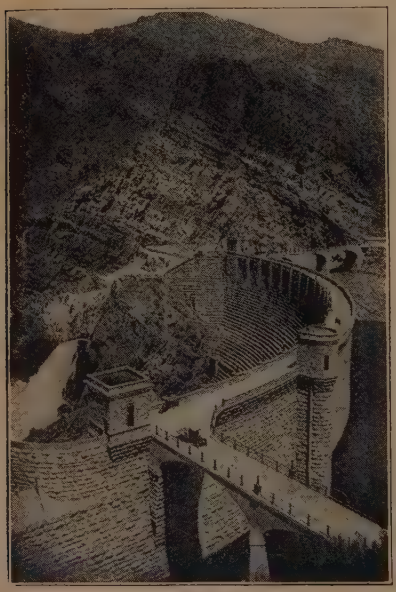
Peace of Portsmouth. Early in President Roosevelt's second administration he acted as mediator between Russia and Japan. Russia after the Boxer uprising did not withdraw her forces from Manchuria, a province of northern China. This aroused the hostility of Japan, and in 1904 the two nations went to war. For a year and a half Japan was victorious on land and on sea, but her resources were about exhausted. When President Roosevelt offered his services in the cause of peace, both nations accepted. Their envoys met at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1905, and agreed upon terms of peace.

California and the Japanese. The people of the Pacific coast states were opposed to the immigration of Asiatics. The Chinese had already been excluded. But the high wages attracted Japanese laborers in great numbers. In 1904 a movement began among labor organizations on the Pacific coast to exclude Japanese immigrants. The city of San Francisco adopted a system by which the Japanese were forced to go to a separate or "oriental" public school. This was a blow to Japanese pride and immediately the government of Japan protested. California stood upon her rights as a state to regulate her schools in her own way; but when the Federal government made an agreement with Japan to restrict immigration, in a spirit of compromise the state modified the offending regulation. But in 1913 the trouble started again, caused by an act of the California legislature excluding the Japanese and other aliens from holding land. The situation became acute again in 1920 when California imposed further restrictions on Japanese land holdings.

Cruise of the Battle Fleet Around the World. After the Spanish War the navy had been greatly strengthened and President Roosevelt, in 1907, sent it on a practice voyage

around the world. Because of Japan's hard feeling over the California trouble, a friendly visit was to be made in Japanese waters. In December, 1907, the fleet, sixteen large battleships in four divisions, started from Hampton Roads. It went around Cape Horn, across the Pacific, through the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean Sea, and returned home across the Atlantic in February, 1909. Everywhere it was received with the greatest respect. This was the first battle fleet to circumnavigate the globe.

Conservation of Our Natural Resources. President Roosevelt urged the consideration of many matters affecting the general welfare of the whole country. In 1906 in the interest of public health a Meat Inspection Law and a Pure Food Law were passed. But chiefly he impressed the country with the need for the conservation of our natural resources, that is, the preservation of the forests, water supply, fuel, and minerals which were being rapidly consumed. The preservation of the forests is necessary in order to keep a supply of lumber at reasonable prices and to prevent the washing away of the soil. The government has set apart great forest reserves for the benefit of the nation. In the preservation of our forests the Bureau of Forestry in the Department



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ROOSEVELT DAM

of Agriculture has been the chief agent. The Reclamation Service has been established and has done valuable work. Streams have been diverted from their channels and made to irrigate arid lands, dams have been built, reservoirs constructed for storing up water, and swamp lands drained. Proceeds from the sale of public lands in Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado have been set apart as a "reclamation fund." In 1908 the Conference of Governors met at the White House upon the invitation of the President to consider the question of conservation.

A Decade of Expositions. The first ten years of the twentieth century was a decade of expositions. The South Carolina and Interstate West Indian Exposition was held at Charleston in 1901. The Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis in 1904 was to commemorate the centennial of the purchase of Louisiana. About sixty foreign countries and nearly every state and territory in the Union were represented in the exhibits. The American Pacific Exposition and Oriental Fair held at Portland, Oregon, in 1905, to commemorate the Lewis and Clark exploration, revealed the wonderful natural resources of the Northwest and showed by means of models some of the work of the Reclamation Service.

Two years later, in 1907, a tercentennial exposition was held at Norfolk, Virginia, to celebrate the three hundredth anniversary of the founding of Jamestown. The chief feature of this exposition was the magnificent naval display of the battleships of many nations in Hampton Roads. In September, 1909, the tercentennary of Henry Hudson's discovery of the Hudson River and the centenary of Robert Fulton's invention of the steamboat were celebrated at New York. The people of Holland sent an exact reproduction of the *Half-Moon,* and the *Clermont* was reproduced.

Panic of 1907. In 1904 Baltimore was swept by a terrible fire and in 1906 an earthquake and fire in San Francisco destroyed property worth hundreds of millions of dollars. These two disasters came at the close of the period of prosperity, and in 1907 a financial panic swept the country. Many banks failed and to add to the distress the cost of living rapidly increased. Rigid economy was practiced and the crisis soon passed.

Election of 1908. Roosevelt had announced that he would not be a candidate for a third term, and he used his influence to secure the nomination of William H. Taft of Ohio for the Presidency. James S. Sherman was nominated for the Vice Presidency. For the third time the Democrats nominated Bryan, with John H. Kern of Indiana for the second place. Taft was elected.

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

1. When had there first been ill feeling towards the United States on the part of Spain over Cuba? What caused it?
2. What was the direct cause of the war with Spain?
3. What was the purpose of the United States in declaring war?
4. Did she abide by her intentions as expressed in the declaration?
5. How did the war teach us a military lesson?
6. How did it bring on the annexation of Hawaii?
7. What excuse did we have for not granting independence to the Filipinos?
8. What were the provisions of the treaty of peace?
9. What has our government done with regard to Cuba? Why did we not do the same with regard to Porto Rico?
10. What is a trust?
11. How is a World's Fair a great advertising medium?

CHAPTER XXVI

THE NEW AGE AND THE WORLD WAR

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, President, 1909-1913
JAMES S. SHERMAN, Vice President, 1909-1913
WOODROW WILSON, President, 1913-1921
THOMAS R. MARSHALL, Vice President, 1913-1921

The Payne-Aldrich Tariff and the Split in the Republican Party. There was a great deal of dissatisfaction, particularly in the Middle West, over the high tariff and the Republicans had pledged themselves before the election to lower it. President Taft[1] called a special session of Congress immediately after his inauguration and the Payne-Aldrich Tariff of 1909 was passed. But the duties were raised and the Republican party split into two factions. One known as the "stand patters" supported the tariff; the other known as the "insurgents" or progressives opposed it. The people, particularly in the West, were

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

[1]William Howard Taft was born at Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1857. He was graduated from Yale in 1878, and admitted to the bar two years later. He was at one time professor of law in the University of Cincinnati and later served on the Federal bench. He was Secretary of War under Roosevelt. He was appointed provisional governor of Cuba in 1906 and served a short while. At the close of his administration he was made a professor of law at Yale.

indignant over the new tariff. They felt that their wishes had been ignored and the Republican party had broken faith. The President in a speaking tour pronounced the Payne-Aldrich Tariff the best the country had ever had and this caused the people to turn against him. In 1910 the Democrats gained a large majority in the House of Representatives, and with the aid of the Republican "insurgents" passed a new tariff lowering the duties which the President vetoed and which added to his unpopularity. In 1911 a bill providing for reciprocity with Canada was passed only to be rejected by the Canadians.

Department Quarrels and Foreign Affairs. The President was further embarrassed by quarrels in the Departments. Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, chief chemist, had trouble with the Secretary of Agriculture over the enforcement of the Pure Food Law and resigned. Richard A. Ballinger, the Secretary of the Interior, was accused of favoritism in the management of the public lands. A committee of investigation vindicated him but the people felt that reform had been checked. In foreign affairs Taft's administration was not able to score any great success. The President, himself, was an ardent believer in international arbitration, but his efforts in this direction failed largely through the opposition of the Senate. In 1910 revolution broke out in Mexico. Diaz, the dictator-president for thirty years, was overthrown and Francisco Madero was chosen president only soon to be overthrown and assassinated by Huerta who established a military dictatorship in 1913. A great deal of American capital was invested in Mexican mines, railways, oil lands and plantations and in the course of the revolution American property was destroyed and American lives endangered. Taft sent battleships to Galveston and mobilized troops along the

Rio Grande, but otherwise he maintained a strict neutrality and prohibited the exportation of arms to the belligerents.

Achievements of the Taft Administration. But the Taft administration achieved much that was for the good of the country. The President urged a more businesslike and economical management of the government. In the Civil Service he increased the number of offices to be filled under the merit system. The rural free delivery of mail had been established in 1897; in 1911 the Postal Savings banks were founded and in 1912 the Parcels Post law went into effect. A separate Department of Labor was created. President Taft appointed Justice White, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and five other justices, a greater number than had ever before been appointed in one administration. The Sixteenth Amendment providing for an income tax passed Congress in 1909 and became law in February, 1913. In 1911 the Seventeenth Amendment, providing for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, passed Congress, and in May, 1913, had received the necessary number of state ratifications. In 1912 New Mexico and Arizona were admitted to the Union although the bill admitting the latter state was vetoed by the President and was not allowed to pass until the clause in her constitution providing for the recall of judges was changed.

The Minor Parties and Popular Discontent. For many years there had been growing a spirit of discontent with the management of the government. This feeling expressed itself in the formation of "third" or minor parties, the chief of which have been the Greenback party, the Prohibitionists, the Populists, and the Socialistic groups. These parties usually put up candidates in the Presidential

elections, but, with the exception of the Populists in 1892, they polled only a small part of the vote. However, they have all accomplished their purposes to some extent, but mainly through the states. The Populists carried many states in the nineties. The Socialists began to show strength after the beginning of the twentieth century and succeeded in carrying many local elections, chiefly in the Northwest.

The oldest of the minor parties is the Prohibitionist, the main purpose of which is the suppression of the liquor traffic. In 1874 Frances E. Willard and other earnest women formed the Women's Christian Temperance Union, now the largest organization of women in the world. It has aided in the passage of anti-liquor laws and has created public sentiment in behalf of temperance. In 1917 twenty-three states were in the dry column and there were many cities and counties that had local option. In that year Congress submitted to the states the eighteenth or prohibition amendment to the Constitution and in 1919 a sufficient number of states had ratified it for it to become a law.

Progressive Movement. During the administration of President Taft popular discontent with many political practices took form in the "Progressive Movement" which developed more or less following in both the Republican and Democratic parties. Party conventions acting through delegates had seemed at times not to reflect the wishes of the people and there was earnest protest against "bossism" and "machine" domination. Several states had adopted the system of party primaries instead of conventions for the nomination of candidates, and a few states and many cities had adopted the initiative, referendum, and recall. The initiative is a device under which the people by peti-

tion may propose a law; the referendum is a process for submitting a law to popular vote for adoption or rejection; the recall is a means of removing a public official by popular vote before his term expires.

These and other changes in party practice and in fundamental law, urged under the slogan, "Let the people rule," had been advocated for many years. They were doctrines of the Populist party during the nineties and had fallen into disfavor for the time being, but were revised with new fervor and larger following as remedies for abuses of power in parties, in legislation, and in administration. They were resisted as impractical and as tending to substitute hasty and impulsive popular notions for the cooler judgment of representatives of the people acting with deliberation.

Woman Suffrage. As a part of this demand for a greater popular rule came the growth of the woman suffrage movement, particularly in the West. Wyoming came into the Union in 1890 as the first equal suffrage state. Since that time fifteen states had granted full suffrage to women and in all but twelve they possessed suffrage in some form. In June, 1919, the nineteenth amendment giving the suffrage to woman was submitted to the states and by August, 1920, Tennessee, the thirty-sixth state, had ratified the amendment and it became law.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY

Election of 1912. Upon the approach of the Presidential election of 1912, President Taft was recognized as the

leader of the Conservative Republicans, who maintained the traditional policy of the party concerning the tariff and resisted the more radical policies of the progressives. There were several insurgents or progressive aspirants, but Theodore Roosevelt, former President, easily became the foremost, notwithstanding the third-term precedent. He had lately returned from an African hunt, had been received with great applause by his countrymen, and had entered actively into the discussion of current issues.

The Republicans held their convention in Chicago; the Conservatives were in control by a small majority and Taft and Sherman were renominated. Roosevelt's supporters bolted and organized the Progressive party, popularly called the "Bull Moose" party. Advocating government control of the trusts, the initiative, referendum and recall, and woman's suffrage, they nominated Roosevelt for President and Governor Hiram W. Johnson of California for Vice President.

The Democrats held their convention in Baltimore and nominated Woodrow Wilson, governor of New Jersey and former president of Princeton University, for the first place on their ticket. Although Governor Wilson had been but eighteen months in public office he had gained a strong hold on the great mass of the people. His nomination pleased the progressive element of the party because he recognized the initiative, referendum and recall as useful devices for states and cities under certain circumstances; at the same time conservative Democrats recognized him as too cautious to enter into any rash political adventure, hence the Democratic party entered the contest with harmony and enthusiasm. Governor Thomas R. Marshall of Indiana was chosen for second place on the ticket. The Democratic platform advocated reduction of

the tariff and restraint of trusts. It was a whirlwind campaign, but withal a dignified one. The Democrats won by a majority unparalleled in the history of parties, gaining 435 out of the 531 electoral votes. Roosevelt was second in the race and Taft was third.

The New President and His Cabinet. President Wilson[1] was well known as an educator and as a writer of history and government. He believed that there should be more direct contact between the Congress and the executive and he broke the custom of a hundred years of sending written messages to Congress and revived the practice of Washington and John Adams by addressing that body on important matters in person instead of by communicated messages. The new President appointed as his cabinet officers William J. Bryan of Nebraska, Secretary of State; William G. McAdoo of New York, Secretary of the Treasury; Lindley M. Garrison of New Jersey, Secretary of War; James C. McReynolds of Tennessee, Attorney-General; Albert S. Burleson of Texas, Postmaster-General; Josephus Daniels of North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy; Franklin K. Lane of California, Secretary of the Interior; David F. Houston of Missouri, Secretary of Agriculture; William

WOODROW WILSON

[1]Woodrow Wilson was born at Staunton, Virginia, in 1856. He attended Davidson College in North Carolina, Princeton University, where he graduated in 1879, and the University of Virginia, where he studied law. He held professorships in a number of leading universities and in 1902 was chosen president of Princeton. As a writer his fame rests chiefly on his *History of the American People*, *Congressional Government* and *Division and Reunion*.

G. Redfield of New York, Secretary of Commerce; and William B. Wilson of Pennsylvania, Secretary of Labor.

Important Laws. The first Congress of President Wilson's administration met in special session in April and remained at work for nearly eighteen months. Its enactments make this Congress one of the most notable in the history of our country. The first important act passed was the Underwood-Simmons Tariff of 1913 which lowered the duties. An income tax was levied and a tariff commission was created to study manufacturing and trade conditions for the information of Congress in levying tariffs and taxes. The Owen-Glass Federal Reserve Act, which became a law the same year, reorganized our national banking system by creating twelve regional reserve banks directed by a Federal Reserve Board. A stricter regulation of trusts was undertaken through the Clayton Anti-Trust Law of 1914. A Federal Trade Commission was established to prevent unfair practices in big business. The Panama Tolls Act of 1912, which exempted American shipping from tolls, was regarded by the British Government as a violation of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty. President Wilson opposed the policy of exemption and recommended an amendment of the Act so as to put the shipping of the United States upon the same basis as that of other nations and Congress changed the law accordingly. Laws were passed to prevent child labor in factories making goods for interstate commerce, to conduct agricultural extension, to protect our seamen and to promote highway improvement by co-operation with the states.

Relations With Mexico. The President refused to recognize Huerta, the dictator of Mexico, because he had gained his position through murder and force and not by the will of the Mexican people. Because of large American in-

terests in Mexico and the general disorder prevailing in that country there was considerable demand for intervention but the President refused to intervene because it would mean war and might antagonize the countries of Central and South America. Although American lives were endangered and American property confiscated and destroyed, the President held to his policy of "watchful waiting." Other nations whose citizens and property were attacked might have intervened but they realized that the United States, under the Monroe Doctrine, would oppose European intervention. The embargo on arms was revoked and the civil war in Mexico went on with renewed violence between Carranza and Villa on one side and Huerta on the other. During a fight between the factions for Tampico, some American sailors who went ashore were ill-treated by Huerta's followers, and an apology in the form of a salute to the American flag was demanded by the United States. This was refused and United States Marines from a fleet of warships ordered to the scene captured Vera Cruz, April 21, 1914. In the engagement eighteen Americans were killed and seventy wounded. Huerta was forced to resign in July and Carranza, who became President, promised to protect the lives and property of Americans. In November, 1914, the United States forces were withdrawn from Vera Cruz. In the meantime, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, known as the A. B. C. Powers, offered to mediate, and a conference was held at Niagara Falls in the summer of 1914. Acting upon the advice of this body President Wilson recognized Carranza in 1915.

Villa's Raids. But the civil war in Mexico was not over. Villa, who had fought with Carranza, now turned against him and held a considerable portion of Northern Mexico.

To vent his wrath because the United States had recognized Carranza, he made a number of raids along the border. On March 9, 1916, his forces attacked the little town of Columbus, New Mexico, killing some of its citizens and destroying property. Carranza seemed unable to hold Villa and his bandits in check. Six days later the United States sent a punitive expedition of 15,000 men under General Pershing to capture Villa, and at the same time a force of 150,000 militia was stationed along the border. Villa retreated into hiding places in the Mexican mountains and, as his forces had dispersed and Carranza was protesting against the presence of American troops in Mexico, they were withdrawn. The two nations formed a joint commission to maintain peace on the border. Trouble continued in Mexico, but it was soon overshadowed by the larger tragedy of the World War. In 1920 Colonel Alvaro Obregon led a successful revolution and the Carranza government was overthrown and Carranza was assassinated. In a general election held on September 5, Obregon was elected President of Mexico.

Guardianship of the Caribbean. By various steps, either in the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine or to protect our own interests by guarding the approaches to the Panama Canal, we have adopted a kind of supervision over many of the islands of the Caribbean Sea and the mainlands bordering on its waters. Santo Domingo, Haiti, Venezuela, and Nicaragua were all heavily in debt to European powers. Upon the appeal of these countries, or in order to prevent foreign intervention and occupation which would be a violation of the Monroe Doctrine, the United States has assumed a certain degree of authority in the management of their finances for the payment of their debts. We have gained control of all available canal

routes and have been granted coaling stations and naval bases. In 1916 we bought the Danish West Indies, St. Thomas and the Virgin Islands, as a further step in strengthening our position in the Caribbean Sea.

Pan Americanism. Since 1890 Pan-American Congresses have been held at Mexico City, Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Ayres, and Washington. But in spite of these outward evidences of friendliness there had been growing for many years a spirit of distrust of the United States on the part of the Central and South American republics. Our acquisition of the Canal Zone caused ill-feeling on the part of Colombia, and this we have tried to overcome by the payment of $25,000,000. Our policy of supervision over the Caribbean lands and the loud outcry for intervention in Mexico caused these countries to fear that we were using the Monroe Doctrine to advance our own interests rather than for the protection of American republics from European aggression. But President Wilson's declaration that the "United States will never again seek one additional foot of territory by conquest," his policy of non-intervention in Mexico, and his acceptance of the mediation of the A. B. C. Powers, have somewhat restored confidence and the Pan-American Union formed in 1890 is stronger than ever before.

The World War. In June, 1914, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the heir to the Austrian throne, and his wife were assassinated by Serbians. Austria, under encouragement by Germany, in August declared war on Serbia, and this was a signal for many nations to line up against each other and the greatest war in history began. Germany, Austria, Turkey, and Bulgaria fought together. Russia, Serbia, Montenegro, France, Belgium, Portugal, Japan, Great Britain, Italy, Roumania, and Greece, known as the

Allies, were arrayed on the other side. Germany, eager for more land at her neighbor's expense, for vast colonies, and for a greater trade, all of which would make her the most powerful nation on earth, had been preparing for this war for many years. She was the greatest military power in Europe and her navy was second only to that of Great Britain. The trouble between Austria and Serbia might have been settled peaceably but Germany was for war. She was ready, and this was the opportunity to attempt world dominion. Germany's first plan was to crush France, and, notwithstanding the fact that she was bound by treaty to respect the neutrality of Belgium, she invaded that country, because it was the easiest route to Paris. When the brave Belgians resisted, the Germans overran and plundered the land and subjected the people to shocking cruelties.

The United States Neutral. At the beginning of the war President Wilson issued a Proclamation of Neutrality. But while we were neutral in our acts and while there were many people in this country of German birth or parentage, the sympathies of the majority of the people were with the Allies. The German invasion of Belgium and their methods of war outraged the moral sense of most Americans. An international relief commission was formed to save the Belgians from starving and to this Americans contributed generously in money, food, and clothing.

Neutral Trade. Our export trade suddenly fell off at the beginning of the war, particularly in cotton, and had it not been for the banking and credit facilities of the Federal Reserve Act the country would have faced a serious panic. But business soon revived. There was a great demand for foodstuffs, clothing, horses, mules, copper, etc., and in a short time the exports of the country were doubled and

the United States came into the enjoyment of exceptional prosperity. A Shipping Board was created and the United States built and operated merchant ships in order to get our surplus products to the markets of the world. But our trade soon brought us into trouble with the warring nations. The Allies controlled the seas and German and Austrian merchant vessels lay interned in neutral ports. The list of articles considered contraband of war was enlarged to include rubber, oils, cotton, and many other things, and Great Britain cut off not only all such cargoes bound directly for Germany, but also, on the doctrine of the continuous voyage, those that were bound for neutral countries like Holland and Sweden, and might reach her indirectly. The continuous voyage means that in time of war goods shipped from one neutral to another and then reshipped to the enemy are considered as bound direct to the enemy and are subject to capture. On this ground many American ships were searched and their cargoes seized. This interference with our trade caused heavy losses and for a time there was much ill-feeling against England.

Munitions Trade and German Propaganda. We stood ready to sell munitions to any of the belligerents, as neutral nations have always done, but they could be shipped only to the Allies, and Germany and Austria denounced the trade as a violation of neutrality. The pro-Germans in this country demanded an embargo on arms, but it was refused. A little later munition plants were burned, cargoes bound for the Allies were blown up, and strikes were instigated among workmen. It was discovered that the Austrian ambassador and members of the German embassy had directed or encouraged these proceedings and they were dismissed.

Preparedness. The enormous forces used in the war and the complicated machinery employed, which required trained men to use, gradually aroused the country to a sense of our unpreparedness. Our standing army was a volunteer force of about 90,000, and our navy since the Spanish War had been built up to third place among the navies of the world. In 1916 Congress appropriated $600,000,000 for the building of ships and several plans were suggested for increasing the army, but the people showed little interest, because they could not realize that it would ever be necessary to use a great American army on foreign soil. The Secretary of War, Lindley M. Garrison, felt that his plans were not properly supported by the President and resigned; he was succeeded by Newton D. Baker of Ohio. The National Defense Act was passed in 1916, which increased the regular army to 175,000, federalized the National Guard, and provided for a system of training camps for reserve officers. All of this meant heavy expense and a War Revenue Act was passed in the same year doubling the income tax, and levying taxes on many other things.

German Submarine Campaign. Germany had used submarines against warships, but with little success. As England became more successful in intercepting cargoes bound for Germany and Austria, the submarines were directed against merchant vessels in order to destroy the shipping of the Allies. Contrary to all international law, Germany declared that enemy merchant ships in the war zone, which she defined as comprising the waters around Great Britain and France, would be sunk without warning and without providing for the safety of passengers and crew. In time of war citizens of neutral nations have a right to travel on the merchant ships of the belligerents, but

Germany ignored this right and the lives of neutrals were endangered.

The Lusitania Tragedy. Many ships were sunk, some of them flying the American flag, and many American lives were lost. But the crowning horror of the submarine campaign was the sinking of the *Lusitania,* a British merchant steamer, which was sunk without warning off the coast of Ireland, May 7, 1915. Nearly 1,200 lives were lost, among them 114 Americans. The world was filled with horror at the barbarism of the act, but Germany struck medals to commemorate the event, rewarded the commander of the submarine, and made the day a national holiday. For a time war seemed inevitable. President Wilson addressed a series of notes to the German government denouncing the submarine policy and demanding that Germany disavow the sinking of the *Lusitania,* and make reparation for the act. Germany finally promised that merchant vessels should not be sunk without warning and without providing for the safety of passengers and crew, provided the vessel made no resistance or effort to escape. Conditions improved for a while, but in less than a year the *Sussex,* a British steamer, was sunk without warning in the English Channel and several Americans were killed or injured. The German government apologized for this misdeed and again pledged herself not to sink merchant vessels without warning. For about nine months there was almost a cessation of submarine warfare. In the diplomatic correspondence between the United States and Germany William Jennings Bryan, Secretary of State, found himself not in harmony with the President and resigned. He was succeeded by Robert Lansing of New York.

Panama-Pacific Exposition. During this critical time there was held at San Francisco in 1915 the Panama-

Pacific Exposition to celebrate the opening of the Canal and the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the Pacific Ocean. On account of the war the exhibits from foreign nations were much less than at preceding expositions. In 1920 England, Holland and the United States observed with pageants and other fitting celebrations the tercentenary of the coming of the Pilgrims to New England.

The Labor Situation and the Adamson Bill. Strikes had grown of more frequent occurrence, many of them being instigated by a radical labor organization known as the Industrial Workers of the World, or the I. W. W. Perhaps the most serious of the strikes managed by this organization was that of the coal miners in southern Colorado, in 1913 and 1914, which was unusually violent and required the intervention of the Federal government before order was restored. The methods employed by the I. W. W. were condemned by many other labor organizations. In August, 1916, in the midst of the Presidential campaign, the organizations of trainmen united in a demand for an eight-hour working day with pay for overtime, and threatened a strike which would tie up all the railroads of the country if their demand was not granted. The railway managers claimed that the demand was unfair and refused to yield. President Wilson invited the heads of the railroads and the labor leaders to a conference at the White House to try to adjust the matter but no agreement could be reached. Congress then passed the Adamson Bill providing for an eight-hour day with pay for overtime, and the strike was called off.

Election of 1916. In 1916 the Democrats renominated Wilson and Marshall and went into the Presidential campaign with their record to back them. The Republicans

nominated for the Presidency Charles E. Hughes of New York, who was a Justice of the Supreme Court, and Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana for the Vice Presidency. The Progressives again nominated Theodore Roosevelt but he refused to run and urged his followers to unite with the Republicans and support Hughes. Many of them, however, refused, and voted for Wilson. For days the result of the election hung in the balance and in some states the vote was so close that a recount was necessary. At last the Democratic victory was assured. The woman's vote was important in this election and Miss Jeannette Rankin, the first woman representative to Congress, was elected from Montana.

Several changes were made in President Wilson's cabinet. James C. McReynolds, the Attorney General, had been appointed a Justice of the Supreme Court and was succeeded by Thomas W. Gregory of Texas. He later resigned and was succeeded by A. Mitchell Palmer of Pennsylvania. W. G. McAdoo, the Secretary of the Treasury, likewise resigned and was succeeded by Carter Glass of Virginia, who also resigned January 1, 1920, to accept appointment to the Senate. David F. Houston, Secretary of Agriculture, was appointed to succeed Mr. Glass and Edwin L. Meredith of Iowa was made Secretary of Agriculture. Wm. C. Redfield resigned as Secretary of Commerce in December, 1919, and Joshua W. Alexander was appointed as his successor. Franklin K. Lane was succeeded by John Barton Payne as Secretary of the Interior. Mr. Lansing, Secretary of State, resigned and Bainbridge Colby of New York, former Republican and Progressive, was appointed to succeed him.

Unrestricted Submarine Warfare. Late in 1916 Germany surprised the world by making through President Wilson

an offer of peace just after she had completed a successful drive on the East. But the Allies refused the overture as empty and insincere and prepared themselves for still greater efforts. The President had made several unaccepted offers to mediate, and in January, 1917, he urged in behalf of the neutral nations a peace without victory. His efforts were again unsuccessful. Germany now announced that she and her allies would have to fight for their lives and that she would again resort to unrestricted submarine warfare. Neutral nations were warned that all ships, those of neutrals as well as of the enemy, in the war zone would be sunk without warning and without mercy after February 1, 1917. As a concession to the United States she said we could send one ship a week into this zone, which meant that our ocean trade was to be controlled by Berlin. President Wilson's answer to this announcement was to dismiss the German ambassador and recall our ambassador to Germany.

American merchant ships were armed for their protection. Discussion of the arming of merchant ships caused a crisis in the Senate. Eleven members were opposed and because in that body the members had the right of unlimited speech, these members delayed action until the session closed. But the new Senate was called in special session and adopted an amendment to the rules which limited the time of debate.

The Zimmerman Note. Popular indignation over Germany's submarine warfare was increased by the publication of the Zimmerman note. This was an intercepted dispatch to Mexico in which Germany promised her Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona if she would unite with Japan and herself in case the United States should declare war. Mexico and Japan both immediately disclaimed any

knowledge of the matter and expressed their friendship for the United States.

War Declared. Germany's submarine policy was in effect a declaration of war, and on April 6, 1917, Congress declared that war existed between the United States and the German Empire. Our quarrel, the President stated, was not with the German people, but with their despotic rulers. We went to war to vindicate our rights as a nation which had been violated in attacks upon our commerce, in the murder of more than two hundred of our citizens on the seas, and in the criminal methods of the German propaganda in this country. But also we fought for the rights and freedom of mankind and "to make the world safe for democracy." Gradually the country had come to realize that the war was not merely a struggle between rival European countries for power and wealth, but that it was a great struggle between autocracy and democracy which vitally concerned us as one of the great democracies of the world. The people stood united and firm, willing to risk all for the "right which is more precious than peace." Not until December 7 was war declared on Austria-Hungary. Delegations from the principal Allies visited this country and aroused great enthusiasm and interest.

The United States at War. The United States entered the war when the man power and other resources of the antagonists had been seriously impaired. The great question was whether we could mobilize our vast resources of material and men in time to bring victory to the Allies. America's answer is one of the most wonderful things in the history of the World War. The whole country became one vast workshop and training camp. We had been improving our navy and building merchant ships and now

we became the greatest shipbuilding nation in the world, turning out an enormous number of submarine chasers and transports. The ninety-nine German merchant ships interned in our ports were seized and converted to American uses. We immediately sent a large part of our battle fleet under Admirals Sims and Mayo to aid the British fleet standing guard in the North Sea and to aid the French fleet in the Mediterranean. Torpedo boats and destroyers were also sent to check the activity of the submarines. For a time the German sub-sea craft sank a great many vessels and destroyed an enormous amount of foodstuffs and other supplies. Hospital ships bearing the Red Cross sign and transports with cargoes of food for the suffering Belgians were sunk. But mines and submarine nets protected wide areas of the sea and the British invented an exploding depth-bomb which destroyed many submarines under water. Nor could they cope with the armed merchant vessels and the convoys of destroyers which went with the transports. In 1918 the submarines began to visit our coasts in considerable numbers and destroyed many unarmed vessels.

The National Army. Before we entered the war many Americans fought as soldiers of fortune with the Canadians or in the Foreign Legion. Now, great numbers of young men volunteered, but Congress passed a Selective Service Draft Act enrolling all men from twenty-one to thirty-one which the next year was extended to include all those from eighteen to forty-five. About 24,000,000 men were enrolled and out of this number the new national army was drawn. Many cantonments or training camps were established and the number of officers' training camps was increased. Reserve officers' training camps were established in our colleges and Students' Army Training Corps

were inaugurated also to supplement the work of the cantonments. General John J. Pershing[1] was put in command of the American Expeditionary Forces, and by the end of 1917 we had 250,000 men in France which had increased to over 2,000,000 by the autumn of 1918, with 1,500,000 more ready to go over. We lost less than four hundred men by drowning in carrying them across the Atlantic, in spite of the German boast that the submarines would prevent the transportation of American troops.

GENERAL PERSHING

Paying for the War. The money to pay for the war was raised by taxation and by bond issues. Income taxes were raised again, railroad tickets, tickets to places of amusement, and hundreds of other things were taxed. Four Liberty Loans were made during the war, and a fifth, known as the Victory Loan, shortly after. Over $20,000,000,000 was subscribed to these loans. The government also sold War Savings Stamps for the accommodation of those who had small sums to lend and for the encouragement of thrift.

Food, Fuel, and Transportation. Food, fuel, and transportation are of vital importance in time of war. In

[1]John Joseph Pershing was born in Laclede, Missouri, in 1860. At nineteen he taught a country school, but later he entered West Point where he was graduated in 1886. He was commandant of cadets at the University of Nebraska from 1891 to 1895 and in 1897 he was made an instructor at West Point. During the Spanish War he served in the Santiago campaign. He was sent to the Philippines in 1899 at the time of the Filipino insurrection and showed such skill and ability that he was promoted from captain to brigadier general. He was raised to the rank of general when the United States entered the war. As commander of the American Expeditionary Forces, he was the first American to lead troops in Europe. In 1920 General Pershing resigned from the army.

order to have food and fuel enough for ourselves, our Allies, and the neutral nations, Food and Fuel Administrations were formed to prevent profiteering and to conserve the supply. A short cereal crop in 1917 and a serious shortage of coal made the situation more critical. Herbert C. Hoover was made head of the Food Administration and Dr. H. A. Garfield head of the Fuel Administration. By the conservation and proper distribution of food and fuel many people were saved from suffering and there was the necessary supply for war purposes. The Daylight Saving Bill was passed to curtail the use of artificial light and so conserve fuel. The people cheerfully submitted to all these regulations and observed wheatless and meatless days. The railroads were taken over by the government and put under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury. Passenger service was reduced for the benefit of troop and freight trains. The telegraph and telephone systems were also taken over by the government and put under the direction of the Postmaster General.

War Relief Organizations. Large sums were raised by the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A., the Knights of Columbus, the Jewish Welfare Board, the Salvation Army, etc. In every community there were Red Cross chapters that furnished their quota of surgical dressings, garments, and knitted articles. The other organizations aided in providing for the comfort and entertainment of our men in the training camps and at the front.

The Enemy Aliens. There were many people in the country of German birth and descent who were loyal. They themselves or their ancestors had left Germany to escape the tyranny and injustice of the rulers. These were now fighting for democracy. Many others were not loyal and the German propaganda continued after we entered the

war. Plots were formed to interfere with the work of the government, munition plants were destroyed, and information of our plans was given to the enemy. As a means of checking these criminal activities the government required all enemy aliens, that is, all persons born in Germany and Austria and not naturalized, to register, and certain restrictions were placed on their movements. Enemy aliens who showed sympathy for Germany were interned for the duration of the war; those who were implicated in plots were imprisoned.

The War to 1917. The Western Front. Germany's plan in the West was to reach Paris, force France to surrender, and capture the Channel ports which would cut off communication with England. The Germans in 1914 laid waste a large part of Belgium and Northern France, but the resistance of Belgium delayed their advance and gave the French and English time to mass troops on the northern frontier of France. In the first battle of the Marne, from September 6th to the 10th, the French General, Joffre, defeated the Germans and forced them to fall back. The British and the French, at the battle of Flanders, held the road to the coast and Germany had failed in her plans; but she held nearly all of Belgium and a large part of Northern France while the Allies held only a small portion of German soil in the province of Alsace. For the next two years the antagonists established themselves in systems of trenches for over three hundred miles extending from Switzerland northward to the sea and fought desperately with such slaughter as had never been known before in all the annals of war. This kind of fighting lasted about two years, but in 1917 the war was in the open again and the Germans made another attempt to open the road to Paris by attacking the strong fortress of

Verdun. But the French lines under General Petain stubbornly held and the Germans failed again. They dropped back to a strong line of trenches known as the Hindenburg line, named for Von Hindenburg, one of their most famous generals. Before the close of the Verdun fight, the battle of the Somme began on July 1st and lasted without intermission until winter. The losses were terrible and the British gained only a narrow strip. Here huge, armored tanks like great steam rollers were used to break the enemy's barbed wire defenses and prepare the way for the infantry charge. The Germans made war by heartless methods and they carried on a systematic campaign of plunder and frightfulness in the territory they occupied, and they introduced the use of poison gas and other means of destruction which were forbidden by The Hague Conventions.

The Eastern Front. Serbia had held her own against Austria until Bulgaria entered the war, but being attacked from both sides the little kingdom and her neighbor, Montenegro, were crushed. Russia had made gains in the eastern provinces of Austria in 1914 only to lose them the next year and also to lose Russian Poland. In conquered Poland and Serbia the atrocities of Belgium were repeated. The Allies made an unsuccessful attempt to open communications with Russia by forcing the Dardanelles in the disastrous campaign of 1915. All the success they achieved was to hold Salonika in Greece, depose the pro-German king, and bring Greece over to the Allies which, however, was not finally accomplished until 1917. Roumania was crushed by Germany and Austria in 1916.

The War in Asiatic Turkey. England and Russia started a campaign in Asiatic Turkey in 1916 to prevent that country from attacking the Suez Canal and cutting off

communications with India. Russia gained some victories along the Black Sea, but in 1917 her government collapsed and she withdrew from the war, leaving England to fight it out alone. One by one the towns of Palestine were captured and on December 10, 1917, Jerusalem surrendered to General Allenby, and after seven centuries of Mohammedan rule, the Holy City was again in Christian hands. When the United States entered the war, Germany was still strong in Europe but the Allies controlled the seas. Germany's colonies had been taken, her fleet was bottled up in the Kiel Canal, and her merchant ships had been swept from the seas.

The Russian Revolution. Early in 1917 occurred the Russian Revolution which was a serious blow to the Allied cause. War losses and shortage of food led to riots in Petrograd and the soldiers instead of restoring order joined the mob. It was generally believed that many of the ruling class were secretly in sympathy with Germany, and the Czar was forced to abdicate and a republic was established. The United States was the first nation to recognize the new government. Kerensky and a group of moderate reformers were in control, but soon they were overthrown by a radical party known as the Bolsheviki whose leaders appeared to be under the influence of Germany. Russia was in a state of lawlessness and the Allies lent aid to the more conservative elements in the hope of restoring order. The Bolsheviki government made a separate peace with Germany which robbed Russia of a large part of her territory.

War Aims of the United States. Germany gave evidence of a desire for peace in the fall of 1917 and President Wilson replied as spokesman for the Allies and in his famous "fourteen-point" speech stated the war aims of the United

States and the conditions upon which we would accept peace. Chief among these are the following: That Belgium be restored and the rights of small nations be respected; that freedom of the seas be guaranteed at all times; that a League of Nations be organized to promote peace in the world. These conditions were not acceptable to Germany and the war continued with greater intensity than ever before.

The Americans in France. In June, 1917, the first American soldiers reached France. After a short period of training on foreign soil and of building docks, railroads, etc., for the movement of men and supplies, General Pershing offered the American troops in France to be used wherever needed. At first the French General Foch, who had been made Commander-in-Chief of all the Allied Forces on the Western Front, used them to fill in the gaps in the British and French lines and soon the Americans were occupying trenches at different points. The presence of the American soldiers in France and the fact that they were going across in increasing numbers strengthened the morale of the Allies and they fought with renewed vigor.

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ON THE WAY TO THE FRONT

The Last German Drives. The Germans brought troops

from the Eastern front and early in 1918 began another series of drives to reach Paris and the coast. The advance to the coast was checked in the battles of Picardy and Flanders in which the British under General Haig, though greatly outnumbered, held their ground. But the Germans drove two great wedges into the Allied line, one at Ypres, the other at Montdidier. A division of Americans fighting with the British in the Montdidier sector, attacked the Germans on May 28 and took the town of Cantigny which they held. This action demonstrated that the new American soldiers could win against veteran troops.

Chateau-Thierry and the Second Battle of the Marne. On May 27 the Germans began another move toward Paris, pushing back the French lines and again reaching the Marne. Two American divisions, commanded by Generals Bundy and Dickman, were fighting with the French here. At Chateau-Thierry the Americans flung themselves furiously into the fighting at the most critical moment and held the road to Paris. Later the Americans and French drove the enemy out of Belleau Wood and definitely turned the tide of battle. General Foch had been waiting for the American reinforcements and now started a movement against the Germans all along the line, and in the second battle of the Marne the Germans were driven back and Paris was safe. The British and French with large numbers of "baby tanks" cut through the German wires and soon the enemy was again retreating to a place of safety behind the Hindenburg line.

St. Mihiel and the Argonne. On September 12 General Pershing, with a force of about 600,000 men, attacked the strong German position at St. Mihiel and in twenty-seven hours took it, capturing 16,000 prisoners and many guns. This was the first strictly American attack and aroused

enthusiasm among the Allies and at home. The next move in General Foch's plan was to break the Hindenburg line, drive the Germans to their frontier, and invade Germany. The Americans under General Pershing were to attack the line at the southern end and advance through the dense thickets and ravines of the Argonne Forest which were held by the enemy and which had been considered impregnable. The Germans had massed their best troops to protect this part of their line. On September 26 began the bloodiest battle of American History. The Americans advanced, fighting, building roads and bridges, at the same time charging through barbed wire entanglements and surrounded by machine gun nests. They defeated forty German divisions and took more than 26,000 prisoners. Of their own men, 100,000 were killed and wounded. By October 10 the Argonne was cleared of the enemy. By November 6 the Americans reached the Meuse River, which cut the German lines. Pershing and his "Yanks" had won a decisive victory.

Other Allied Victories. The Allies were successful on other battle fronts. After the fall of Jerusalem the British, aided by an army of Arab horsemen, conquered all Asiatic Turkey and forced her to surrender. The Italians completely routed the Austrians in the battle of the Piave. Austria withdrew from the war, her emperor abdicated, and the Austro-Hungary monarchy broke up into several states. The Allies made a drive in the Balkans and regained Serbia and Montenegro. Then Bulgaria begged for peace and dropped out. Germany was left alone to face the victorious Allied forces.

The Armistice. While the Americans were clearing the Argonne of the enemy, the British and French troops and divisions of the American army fighting with them broke

through the Hindenburg line at the north and in the center. The German submarine bases on the Belgian coast were blown up. At this point the Germans sued for peace. A revolution broke out in Germany and the Kaiser abdicated and fled. The armistice, which was an unconditional surrender, was signed on November 11, and the World War was over. Germany was forced to evacuate all French and Belgian territory and the Allied and American armies marched to the Rhine.

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AMERICAN SOLDIERS CROSSING THE RHINE

The War on the Sea and in the Air. Few naval battles were fought during the war, for the German fleet was kept bottled up in the Baltic. On May 31, 1916, the German fleet tried to slip out in a fog but met the British off Jutland and here occurred a terrific fight between the two greatest battle fleets in the world. Both sides claimed the victory, but the German ships were forced to return to Kiel and the British still held the seas. Following the

armistice the entire German fleet including submarines surrendered. The Allied fleets in the North Sea were drawn up in two lines fourteen miles long and six miles apart and the German battleships passed through with flags drooped in token of surrender. This was the greatest naval defeat in the history of the world.

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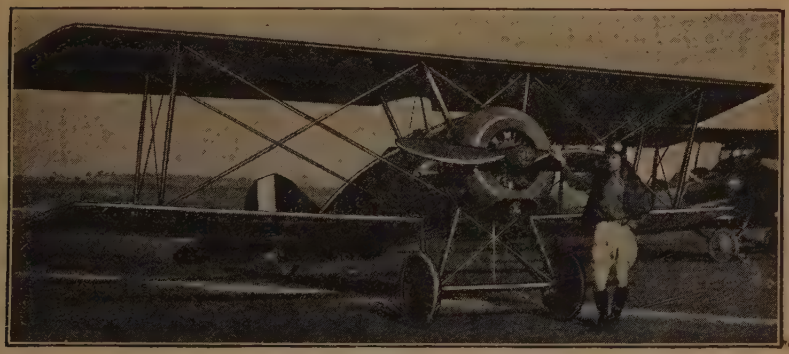
THE U. S. SUBMARINE AL9 AT BASE ON THE COAST OF IRELAND

Airships took the place of cavalry as "the eyes of the army" in this war. The airplanes were first used to locate the position of the enemy, but before long huge battle planes were constructed to go before and protect the observation planes. Balloons were also used for observation purposes. Large planes were sent out on bombing expeditions over the enemy's trenches, machine gun nests, etc. Air fights were sometimes duels between great aces; sometimes squadrons or escadrilles of planes met enemy planes and engaged in battles that were spectacular and terrible. The Germans used huge dirigible balloons called Zeppelins, which made many raids over defenseless French and English cities, killing and wounding thousands. When the United States entered the war Congress appropriated $666,000,000 for the air service. An important improved

engine known as the Liberty motor was invented and used in our planes.

Peace Terms. After the armistice was signed peace envoys of the different nations assembled at Paris. Our envoys were President Wilson, Colonel E. M. House, Robert Lansing, the Secretary of State, General Tasker H. Bliss and Honorable Henry White.

The peace terms as finally framed by the Allies agreed in the main with the peace program of the United States as outlined by President Wilson. Briefly they were: Belgium and the other countries subjugated were restored;



U. S. FIGHTING PLANE

many peoples, heretofore subject against their will to some ruling power were made into separate states, thereby recognizing the right of people to choose their own governments; Germany's army and navy were reduced and she was required to pay large sums in reparation; the peace treaty with Russia was cancelled; a League of Nations was formed to maintain the peace of the world. The Senate of the United States, by a majority vote, adopted many reservations to the League of Nations clause, which the President and his supporters refused to accept, and the

treaty failed to receive the necessary two-thirds vote to ratify. The League of Nations became the leading issue in the Presidential campaign of 1920. The Republicans nominated Warren G. Harding, Senator from Ohio, for President, and Calvin Coolidge, governor of Massachusetts, for Vice President, on a platform opposing the League of Nations as proposed but favoring the forming of an association of nations to formulate international laws and to promote peace. The Democrats favored the League of Nations with such reservations as might be necessary to make its meaning clear, and nominated James M. Cox, governor of Ohio, for President, and Franklin D. Roosevelt, of New York, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, as Vice President. The Republican ticket was elected by an electoral vote of 404 to 127 and by a large popular majority.

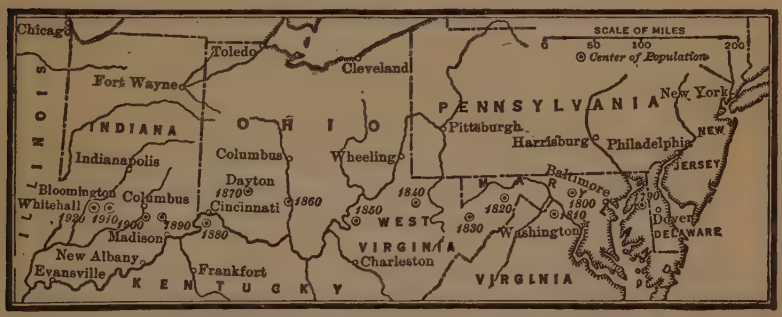
THOUGHT QUESTIONS

1. Explain why this period is sometimes called the "new democracy."
2. What is meant by the initiative and referendum? The recall?
3. What constitutional amendments have been passed since 1900?
4. What caused the split in the Republican party?
5. Why did President Wilson refuse to intervene in Mexico?
6. Why did England oppose the Panama Tolls Act?
7. Of what value to us are St. Thomas and the Virgin Islands?
8. State the causes of the World War?
9. Why did we enter the war?
10. What did Germany gain by her submarine policy?
11. What effect did the Russian Revolution have on the war?
12. What part did we play in winning the war?
13. Name the principal engagements in which Americans took part.
14. How are we paying for the war?

CHAPTER XXVII

A HALF CENTURY OF PROGRESS

Population. During the last half century, or from about the close of the War Between the States to the close of the World War, the people of the United States have made greater progress than any people ever made before in the same length of time. The population has grown from 38,558,371 in 1870 to more than 100,000,000 now



WESTWARD MOVEMENT OF THE CENTER OF POPULATION

living under the American flag. Until the middle of the nineteenth century the United States was overwhelmingly rural, but during the last fifty years there has been a steady migration from the country to the city. The census of 1910 showed that nearly one-half of the people lived in cities and that one-tenth of the whole population lived in New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia, the three largest cities. The census of 1920 showed that more than half of the people now reside in the cities and towns. New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia kept their rank in the census of 1920, but Detroit, the city which furnishes about seventy

per cent of the world's motor vehicles, jumped from ninth to fourth place, her population having increased over one hundred per cent during the decade. The westward movement characteristic of the Americans since colonial days, has kept steadily on.

The Wealth of the Nation. The wealth of the nation, which was less than thirty billions in 1865, was reckoned in 1919, at more than $250,000,000,000 or nearly three times the wealth of Great Britain, the next richest country. Our public debt, most of which was incurred during the late war, is only about ten per cent of our wealth, while Great Britain's public debt is nearly half of her total wealth. Many of the European nations have even a greater proportion of debt to wealth.

Immigration. Immigrants have continued to come in increasing numbers. In 1907 the high-water mark was reached when over a million and a quarter foreigners knocked at our doors in a single year, and of these fully three-fourths were Russians, Italians, Greeks, Syrians, and other races from Southern and Eastern Europe who had first begun to come about 1880. French Canadians have come across the Northern border and in the Southwest a number of Mexican immigrants are to be found. The Chinese immigration to the Pacific states was checked by the Exclusion Bill of 1882, but the Japanese came in large numbers until protest from these states led to what is known as the "gentlemen's agreement" with Japan in 1907 which has served to check this immigration, also. During the World War immigration was very much reduced and since its close there has been a movement among some of our foreign born to return to their home-lands. As a result of this great immigration movement of the last few decades there are more different races in the United

States today than in any other country on earth, and our great problem has been and is to convert them into good Americans. In this the public school is perhaps the chief agent and has the greatest responsibility.

Restrictions on Immigration. With the coming of immigrants in such large numbers, the demand for restriction has increased. This demand has been greatest among the

U. S. OFFICERS EXAMINING IMMIGRANTS AT ELLIS ISLAND

labor unions, because the influx of so many foreigners tends to keep wages down. The Chinese Exclusion Bill of 1882 was extended in 1892 and made perpetual in 1902. Laws have been passed to exclude such undesirables as lunatics, paupers, criminals, diseased persons, etc. After the assassination of President McKinley, anarchists were added to the list. As a further restriction a head tax of

fifty cents was levied and this has been gradually raised to four dollars. The later immigration shows a large percentage of illiteracy and a Literacy Test Bill, excluding all foreigners over sixteen who could not read English or some other language, passed Congress for the first time in 1897, but was vetoed by President Cleveland. Later it was passed again only to be vetoed by President Taft. In 1917 it became a law by being passed over President Wilson's veto.

Dependent Races. Besides the many races who have come to our shores, we have in our midst the Indians, or native Americans, and in our island possessions several other dependent races. The "peace policy" of dealing with the Indians, which dates back to Grant's administration, has been successful. The Indian is adapting himself to our civilization and many Indians have given up their tribal life and become citizens and voters. In 1907, when Oklahoma was admitted to the Union, several tribes abandoned their tribal relations and became citizens of the new state. Their lands are held in trust for them by the United States. The great majority of the negroes continue to live in the South where they find their chief employment on the farms, but during the World War about 500,000 negroes went to the North seeking employment. Wherever they have settled in considerable numbers there has been friction with the whites, and in St. Louis, Chicago, Washington, and Omaha terrible race riots have broken out. There have also been race riots in Georgia, Arkansas, and some other parts of the South. In these riots a number of people both white and black have been killed.

Cities. The immigrant has helped to build up our cities and so rapidly have these grown that in 1920 there were more than eighty cities in the United States with a popu-

lation of 100,000 and over. Wherever the railroads and factories have gone cities have sprung up. Birmingham, Alabama, may be taken as an illustration of the growth of cities in the new industrial regions of the South. The town was laid out in June, 1871, and in the following December it was chartered as a city with a population of 1,000. In 1880 it had a population of 3,086; in 1890, of 26,178; in 1900, of 38,415; 1910, of 132,685, and in 1920 of 178,270. New Orleans and Galveston are the largest southern ports. A great achievement of engineering was the construction of jetties for deepening the channel at the mouth of the Mississippi. The system was proposed by Captain James B. Eads and in 1875 Congress appropriated a large sum for this purpose. In four years the jetties were completed and the largest ocean-going steamers could go up the river to New Orleans. A similar system of jetties was used to deepen the harbor at Galveston which has become the second export city of the United States.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

Government of the Cities. The rapid growth of the cities has given rise to serious problems. Government in many of the large cities has been in some cases wasteful and corrupt, in others it was not adapted to the needs of the people and there has been a demand for reform. The furnishing of water, light, and sewerage has required large outlays of capital, and there have developed bitter contests

concerning private and public ownership. For the most part the policy of public ownership of such utilities has been established, with strict regulations of street railways. Perhaps the most notable change in city government was the adoption of the commission form by Galveston, Texas, in 1901, after the terrible destruction wrought by the tropical hurricane which swept the city in 1900. The citizens found it necessary to erect a special form of government to meet the emergency of disordered finances due to the storm losses. The form of government by mayor and aldermen, the latter each chosen from a separate ward, was abolished and the management of affairs was placed in the hands of five commissioners chosen from the city at large, each with a definite responsibility and each answerable to the whole people. The business-like administration of the Galveston commission was so remarkably successful that this form of government has been adopted in nearly 400 cities in the United States. The Staunton, or City Manager, plan is another reform in city government. By this plan the administration of the affairs of a city is placed in the hands of one man who is not necessarily, prior to his appointment, a citizen of the city. He chooses his subordinates, but is, himself, responsible to the people for the management of the city.

Means of Communication. Our industrial and commercial development is well reflected in our railway expansion. Railroad building which began on a large scale with the construction of the Pacific Railways has kept up and now nearly half the railroad mileage of the world is in the United States. Bessemer steel rails, better road-beds, and high powered locomotives have made it possible to carry heavier loads and many comforts and conveniences have been added, such as sleeping and dining cars and fast

vestibuled trains. The United States had the cheapest ton-mile freight rate in the world, but after the government took possession of the roads for the period of our war with Germany, although both wages and rates were advanced, the roads were operated at a loss. The sentiment which had been growing in favor of government ownership was reversed. The return of the roads to the owners under conditions that would make for safe investment and yet maintain regulations and rates satisfactory to the public became one of the difficult problems of national legislation. In 1915 the United States government began the construction of a railroad in Alaska, from the coast to the coal field in order to aid in the development of the territory.

Standard Gauge and Standard Time. Since the eighties train service has been simplified and standardized all over the country. The railroads have adopted the same gauge or width of track, where there had been some half dozen different gauges before. This makes possible the movement of freight cars, passenger coaches, and locomotives from one road to another, so that the same Pullman can run from Chicago to San Antonio and a freight car belonging to the Southern Pacific can make its way to the Canadian Border. In 1883 a system of standard time was adopted by the railroads. Within the United States there are four divisions known as Eastern, Central, Mountain, and Pacific time. For every division or for every fifteen degrees of longitude, there is an hour's difference in time. This arrangement has greatly diminished the danger of railroad accidents. Uniform signals have also been adopted.

Great Bridges. Great railroad bridges have been constructed to overcome the expense and delay of the ferry

transfers across the rivers. The first bridge across the middle Mississippi was built at Rock Island, Illinois, in 1856, and by 1880 a dozen bridges spanned the "Father of Waters." The Eads steel arch bridge, which ranks as one of the greatest in the world, was constructed across the Mississippi at St. Louis in 1874. The greatest work in suspension bridges was the Brooklyn Bridge which was opened to traffic in 1883. Many other great bridges have since been built.

EADS BRIDGE ACROSS THE MISSISSIPPI AT ST. LOUIS

Electric Railways. Meanwhile electric railroads had developed from the electric street railways that were first employed successfully in 1888, to the longer trolley lines that now form a network throughout the more populous regions of the country. As population and traffic have become congested in certain districts, some of our large cities have built subways and elevated railways to supplement the surface cars. The electric interurban railway with its frequent service has come to be a great convenience. It penetrates many communities where steam railways are not practical and affords accommodations to

village and country communities that otherwise would be without rapid transportation. With electric railways and good roads, rural life is far more comfortable than ever before and many persons doing business in the city are able to reside in the country. Electric locomotives are employed for hauling passenger cars from the outskirts of the large cities, especially in the limits of New York City, to the passenger stations, because they are less noisy and they make no smoke. For passenger traffic on short hauls the electric lines are preferred, but steam remains the dependable motive power for freight and long distances.

Waterways and Canals. But the growth of our railroads has not kept pace with the nation's business and our inland waterways are an important means of transportation. Our two great natural systems of inland waterways are the Great Lakes and the Mississippi. The Great Lakes, which we own in connection with Canada, are connected with the St. Lawrence by the Welland Canal between Lakes Ontario and Erie which was built by the Canadian government. We have built the "Soo" Canal between Lakes Superior and Huron around the falls of the Sault Ste. Marie for the benefit of the enormous lake traffic in iron, coal, grain, and lumber. We have also improved the harbors at Chicago, Milwaukee, Buffalo, Cleveland, and other lake ports. The channel of the Mississippi has been deepened and the river made navigable all the year round, and the surrounding country in the lower courses of the river protected in the flood season by means of levees. In the forties the railroads checked canal building and put nearly all of the canals out of business except the Erie and on this there was a marked shrinkage of traffic. But with the congestion on the railroads the state of New York has spent $10,000,000 for the enlargement of the

Erie Canal which is kept up as a first-class waterway.

Country Roads. One of the most important developments of the times is the great increase of good country roads. For several years states, counties and communities have been spending considerable sums of money for better highways and the movement was greatly stimulated by the Federal Aid Road Act of 1916, known as the Bankhead Good Roads Act from its author, Senator Bankhead of

GREAT PROGRESS IN ROAD BUILDING

Alabama. Under the terms of this Act the Federal government appropriated $75,000,000 available during a period of five years to be apportioned among the states, upon the condition that each state would provide a sum equal to its Federal allotment. In 1918 Congress appropriated $200,000,000 more upon the same terms and available in three years. The states in their turn enacted efficient road laws, establishing State Highway Commis-

sions to co-operate with the Federal administration, and in every state numerous counties, precincts, and cities entered upon extensive projects of hard roads and pavements. Road improvement was suspended during the period of our participation in the European War, except for necessary repairs and military purposes, but in 1919 there was a widespread revival of paving and road building throughout the United States. First the bicycle, then the automobile, and finally the truck have brought us to see what bad roads cost us and how much good roads are worth in saving time and expense, and especially how much they add to the comfort and pleasure of life in the country. In later times, this period may come to be known as the Age of Good Roads.

Fast Steamers, Pacific Cable, and Wireless. Regular steamers ply their way across the Pacific and the trip across the Atlantic can now be made by steamship in little more than five days. In 1903 the Pacific cable from San Francisco to Hong Kong was completed and this was another link binding us to the nations of the Pacific. Another invention was the Marconi wireless telegraph, and in 1903, President Roosevelt sent the first wireless message across the Atlantic. A wireless telephone was invented and during the war the "tree wireless" or "floraphone" was used to "listen in" on the Germans.

Navigating the Air. Travel by air is no longer a dream of the boy who thought to fly like a bird. Since the Wright Brothers of Ohio in 1908 constructed a heavier-than-air machine, the airplane has become a thing of great utility and far-reaching possibilities. It was one of the most effective instruments of war in the European conflict. It was invaluable for observation and useful for combat. Since the war ended, encouraging progress has

been made in adapting the airplane to the uses of peace. The Federal government operates several airplane mail routes and a large number of machines are privately employed for rapid express business and travel. Hardly a month passes that does not record some new feat or new development in aeronautics. In 1919 airships crossed the Atlantic, the first successful flight being made by an American plane, the NC-4 with Lieutenant Albert C. Read of the United States Navy as her pilot. The plane made

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NAVAL SEAPLANE NC-4 — THE FIRST TO MAKE A SUCCESSFUL FLIGHT ACROSS THE ATLANTIC OCEAN

the flight from Newfoundland to Portugal, a distance of 2,150 miles in about twenty-seven hours of flying time. Spectacular transcontinental flights have also been made.

Polar Explorations. Efforts have been made to add to geographical knowledge by the exploration of the Arctic regions. In 1879 the New York Herald fitted out the steamer "Jeannette" under Commodore DeLong to search for the North Pole. The boat was locked in the ice and the few survivors, after two years in the Arctic North, finally reached the coast of Siberia. An expedition under

Lieutenant A. W. Greely was sent out in 1881 at government expense. In July, 1884, Captain W. S. Schley, afterwards famous in the Spanish War, with a relief expedition rescued Greely and six of his men, the sole survivors of the party. The North Pole was discovered by Commander Robert F. Peary of the United States Navy, April 6th, 1909. In recognition of his achievement Congress placed him upon the retired list with the rank of rear-admiral. On December 14, 1911, the South Pole was discovered by Captain Roald Amundsen, a Norwegian.

Preventive Medicine. American physicians and surgeons have done great work in the field of medical science. The man who perhaps has done most in the field of preventive medicine is Dr. William C. Gorgas, Surgeon-General of the United States Army, whose work in Cuba and the Canal Zone has already been referred to. Among his other achievements may be cited the abatement of the pneumonia scourge among the diamond workers of South Africa, the great system for the reconstruction of crippled soldiers, and the cleaning up of Guayaquil, one of the original homes of yellow fever and long known as the "pest hole of the Pacific." It has been said of Dr. Gorgas that of all Americans he has conferred the greatest benefits upon humanity and that he was "doctor to the world." The whole world mourned his death in 1920. There has been a wider use of serums and anti-toxins for the control of such diseases as spinal meningitis, diphtheria, and typhoid. The last named was much more deadly to our soldiers in the War with Spain than the bullets of the enemy. But this disease is prevented by inoculation with a serum, and in the World War there was practically no typhoid among our men. Our physicians and surgeons, aided by the Red Cross units stamped out the typhus

scourge that swept over Serbia in 1915. The discovery of the X-Ray has been a great aid to medicine and surgery.

Inventions. Our inventors and manufacturers of farm implements and machinery have led the world. We have such improved implements as the sulky plow, the riding cultivator, the automatic hay rake, the grain drill, the thirty horse-power combined harvester and thresher, the corn binder, and the tractor. Electric motors are used for all sorts of purposes from propelling warships, to running sewing machines; electric lighting has been extended to farm houses by the use of small generating plants; electric

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COMBINED HARVESTER AND THRESHER. IT WILL TAKE THE WHEAT OFF 45 ACRES A DAY

heating is becoming more and more practical and economical, and electric power is conveyed over long distances from great central plants.

Americans have developed a system of standardization of parts which greatly facilitates and cheapens the manufacture of all articles from ships and automobiles to the tiniest watches. The machine-gun which is an American invention was improved during the war by the Browning model which discharges a round of about five hundred shots to the minute.

Agricultural Progress. The improvement in our agriculture is shown by the striking fact that agriculture continues to be our chief industry although fewer than one-third of the people of the United States are raising the food and raiment for all the people in our country and for many people in other nations. Cotton is still king in the Southland, but a great era of diversification has set in and millions that before the War Between the States were spent in the West for meat and breadstuffs and in the North for manufactured articles are now spent at home. The Mexican boll weevil and droughts have caused the Southern farmer to turn his attention to other crops and to live stock raising and dairying. The value of the live stock products alone of the South is now estimated at about $1,500,000,000 annually and Georgia ranks second as a hog raising state. Louisiana still leads in the production of cane sugar; and this state with Texas and Arkansas have taken the lead in the production of rice which was formerly held by South Carolina and Georgia. With the use of the refrigerator car and the increased means of transportation, truck farming has grown to be a great industry in the South and hundreds of carloads of early fruits and vegetables are shipped to the cities of the North.

The bulk of our cereals comes from the West. In the corn belt of the Middle West stock raising is also a great industry and the wheat fields of the Northwest yield millions of bushels annually. Great flour mills and grain elevators are to be found in the cities of the wheat belt and the chief packing houses of the country are in Chicago, Kansas City, Omaha, and Fort Worth. Another important crop of the West which has been developed in recent years is the sugar beet. The United States now raises more beet than cane sugar.

One of the greatest advocates for the industrial development of the South was Henry W. Grady of Georgia, a young man fired with patriotic zeal and with a fervent belief in the great future of the South. In the eighties, by his matchless eloquence and through the columns of the newspapers, he urged the people to a diversification of crops and of industries. Another leader in the agricultural development of the whole country and of the South in particular was Dr. Seaman A. Knapp. He was made special agent of the United States Department of Agriculture for the promotion of farming in the Southern States. Dr. Knapp's most important work was to organize and direct the Agricultural Co-operative Demonstration work and to show the farmers by actual demonstration the value of a proper cultivation of the soil and of the rotation of crops. He also taught the Southern farmer how to control the boll weevil pest and urged the diversification of crops. Boys' Corn Clubs were formed under his direction and he planned the formation of Canning and Poultry Clubs for girls and many other means to improve rural home life.

Increased Production. There has been a great volume of production in the last forty or fifty years due to increased acreage and to the increase in the yields per acre as well. During the five-year period from 1866 to 1870 our average annual acreage in cotton, corn, oats, and the other staple crops was less than 83,000,000. During the five-year period from 1914 to 1918, our average annual acreage in the same crops was more than 254,000,000. In the early period of American agriculture our lands were cheap and fertile. Hence but little effort was made to maintain the fertility of the soil. Farms "wore out" and were abandoned because new lands could be acquired

at small price. But as population grew, the demand for farm products and for farms increased, and the price of lands advanced. Then it became necessary to restore the worn-out soils and to replenish the fertility, or plant food, which constant cropping exhausts. In the older agricultural regions of the United States the farmers for many years have used artificial fertilizers and have practiced crop rotations, carefully planned for the purpose. By these methods, lands under cultivation since the colonial days are made to yield as much as when they were new. As a consequence, American farms on the average are yielding per acre more than they did thirty years ago. This and the increased acreage made the crop-yield of the period from 1914 to 1918 more than four times that of the period from 1866 to 1870.

In many of the older countries of denser population the tools of agriculture are few and simple and most of the farm work is done by hand and afoot. Here the farmer employs all the improved machinery that American ingenuity has devised. While in other countries the agricultural methods are more intensive on the smaller farms and the land yields more per acre, the yield here is greater per man. The North American farmer produces much more than the farmer in any other part of the world.

Diseases and Pests. Not only have our farmers learned better methods of caring for their soils, but the agricultural scientists have developed processes for controlling many of the plant and animal diseases and pests. Innumerable insects are destroyed by poisonous compounds; citrous canker has been eradicated from the orange groves; the pink boll worm which invaded Texas cotton fields from Mexico has been almost exterminated; losses from hog cholera have been greatly reduced by the serum and

virus treatment; the cattle tick, which has hindered beef and dairy production in the South is being rapidly destroyed, and many other diseases of animals have been brought under complete or partial control.

Improvement in Live Stock. In like manner the scientists have worked out more economical and more nourishing rations for animals, so that for the same expense, more flesh or milk may be produced. Also our live stock

THE "LONGHORN" AND HIS SUCCESSOR

breeders have improved the quality of their herds by substituting the pure bred for the "scrub," and now the United States exports many high grade breeding animals to other countries. Our live stock industry has grown apace with our general farming. We have more than twenty million horses, nearly five million mules, about twenty-five million dairy cattle and more than forty million other cattle, nearly fifty million sheep and more than

seventy-five million hogs, a total of approximately two hundred and twenty million animals.

War Production. The greatest achievement of the American farmers was their increased production for the needs of the Nations at war. When the United States declared war against Germany in April, 1917, the farmers had made their plans for the year and in the Southern states had done much of their planting. At the time there was a scarcity of farm labor on account of the reduced immigration and increased demands for industrial labor during the preceding years of the World War before the United States entered. Immediately upon the declaration of war the government gave notice of the imperative need for more food, and a definite program of increased production was put forth by the Federal Department of Agriculture in co-operation with the Agricultural and Mechanical colleges, the State Departments of Agriculture, the farmers' organizations and the agricultural newspapers. Through the extensive system of county agricultural agents the program was presented to nearly every neighborhood. The farmers made instant response, in spite of the shortage of labor, by changing their plans and increasing the acreage of food crops.

In 1916 the combined acreage of the principal food and feed crops, corn, wheat, oats, barley, rye and potatoes was 213,674,000 and in 1917 the combined acreage increased to 223,006,000. The raising of an army took proportionately as many men from the farms as from other necessary industries and they suffered still further losses of man power by the attraction of high wages in the cities, and yet in 1918 the farmers increased their combined acreage in these principal crops to 231,168,000. In the fall of 1918, at the time for planting winter wheat, the war was

still raging, and the farmers prepared for another increase of acreage in food and feed crops. Chiefly on account of the winter wheat planting the acreage in these crops in 1919 reached the record breaking number of 236,150,000 acres, besides an increased acreage in cotton, and about the average acreage in vegetables and other crops. The weather that year was rather unfavorable except for corn and there was much loss on that account and on account of the scarcity of labor for cultivation and especially for harvest. In accomplishing these extraordinary results during the war period the farmers of the United States worked early and late and women and children cheerfully went to the field with the men. Live stock production also was considerably increased.

Manufacturing. The United States has developed into a great manufacturing country. Our greatest manufacturing industries are foodstuffs, such as the various products of the meat packeries and flour and other cereal products. Next come the textiles, cottons, woolens, linens, and silks. New England is still our chief cotton manufacturing region and Massachusetts still holds first place as a cotton manufacturing state. But millions of bales that formerly were shipped to the spindles of Old and New England are now manufactured at home in the cotton mills which have sprung up all over the South. In the Carolinas alone there are over 400 cotton mills and North Carolina ranks second as a cotton manufacturing state. Flax is grown in considerable quantities in the West and is used for the manufacture of linens and the seed for linseed oil. With the growth of the sheep and goat industry a greater number of woolen mills have been established all over the country. Silk manufacture was a failure with us for many years because we tried to grow the raw silk. About

the middle of the nineteenth century China began exporting raw silk to us and since that time the silk industry has developed rapidly.

Formerly all paper was made from linen and cotton rags and the better grades are yet. But paper is now used for a great many purposes and cheapness of manufacture is an important item. We now make the cheaper grades of paper from wood pulp and large paper mills are found in and near our forested areas. The United States manufactures more leather than any other country, but in spite of the fact that live stock raising is one of our chief industries, we import most of our hides. The reason for this is that we fatten our cattle for beef and the best leather comes from the tough scrawny cattle that live on the range. The manufacture of automobile tires has become the chief branch of the rubber industry. In the manufacture of steel and iron products, furniture, automobiles, etc., the United States excels. During the World War, when production in other countries was checked, new manufactures were started among us, the chief being the making of dyes and chemicals.

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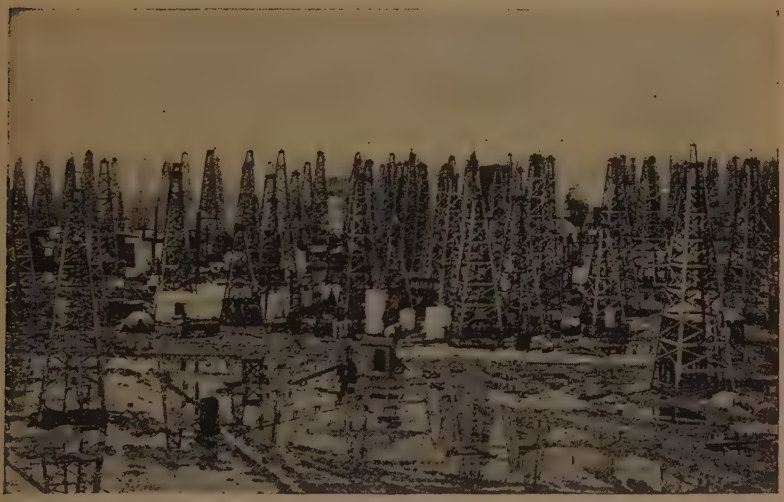
INTERIOR VIEW, COTTON MILL, COLUMBIA, S. C.

The Fisheries and Lumbering. The fisheries of New England are a source of great wealth and fishing has become an important industry along the Middle Atlantic coast, in the Pacific States of the Northwest and in Alaska. The development of the canning industry and the use of the refrigerator car have increased the profits of the fisheries. The yellow pine and the hard woods of the South and the spruce and fir of the Northwest constitute our present chief lumber supply. Lumber camps and mills dot the streams and lakes and follow the railroads. The old-time saw with a single blade has given place to big mills with the huge rotary saws that cut many boards at one stroke.

Mineral Wealth. All modern industry is dependent upon coal, iron, and oil. The United States is rich in these three minerals and possesses valuable deposits of many others. The Lake Superior region produces the greater part of our iron ore, but since the opening up of the Southern iron fields we produce nearly half of the world's supply of iron. We have the largest coal deposits of any nation in the world. A great deal of coal is mined in the South, and from Arkansas comes much of the smokeless coal that is used on the United States battleships. Because of the great value of coal to the civilization of the world, the country is beginning to realize that it is necessary for the sake of those who live after us to economize in its use. Wherever practicable there is a tendency to use water power instead of steam as a motor force. Water power is abundant in some of our Western and Southern states. Since the first discovery of oil in Pennsylvania in 1859, we have discovered new and larger fields in Ohio, Indiana, Texas, Oklahoma, and California. We now produce more than half of the world's supply of oil. Something of the importance of oil can be realized when we

consider that battleships, submarines, airplanes, automobiles, tractors, and in short practically every sort of machine has to use oil in some form. During the war England put oil on the list of contraband goods, and an English naval officer is credited with the remark that the Allies floated to victory on oil. It was mostly American oil at that. Natural gas has been discovered in quantities and is piped many miles to cities.



Courtesy "Review of Reviews"

A TEXAS OIL FIELD

Balance of Trade. The World War made such demands upon the United States for materials of all kinds, food, clothing, metals, etc., that this country has become the principal source of supplies and the principal creditor country in the world. In 1913, the year before the war, our exports were valued at nearly a billion and a half and our imports at more than a billion and three-quarters. The difference in our favor was easily settled by gold. A great quantity of money went out of the country to pay

the annual interest on loans made to our people by European creditors. On account of the enormous purchases which Europe made in the United States during the war and on account of the money borrowed from our people by the European nations they now owe us much more than we owe them and the interest payments are in our favor. In 1919, our exports were more than $7,000,000,000 and our imports only about half as much.

This large difference in the balance of trade constitutes an important problem in international commerce. We cannot continue indefinitely to sell so much in excess of what we buy, because other nations cannot long command the gold for paying the difference. With the restoration of normal conditions in Europe we may be able to make larger purchases of goods which Europe produces and thus restore the equilibrium of trade. It is only by an exchange of commodities that a satisfactory international commerce can be maintained. But for our vast resources, our supplies of food, manufactured products and munitions, the war could hardly have been won. Thus American material development, like American government, has been a blessing to mankind.

The Merchant Marine. Only American ships can engage in our coastwise shipping but until the World War our chief exports were carried in the ships of other nations. Under pressure of war conditions ship-building was given a great impetus. Ship yards were established in a large number of our coast cities and we acquired a fleet of merchant ships as a part of our war equipment. For these we now desire freight both ways. The modern merchant vessel is propelled by steam, but the old wooden sail-boat of half a century ago has not been superseded altogether and is frequently used in carrying slow freight.

After War Strife. While American production was thus increased during the period of our participation in the European War, production in Europe was decreased on account of the greater number of men engaged and killed or crippled. Our surplus went to supply the shortage in Europe, especially the countries associated with us in the war, and we were compelled to practice much self-denial. The result of these conditions was great increase in the cost of living. Besides, even after the war ended there was no increase, but rather a decrease in the number of laborers on the farms and in our manufacturing industries which continued active in supplying the goods destroyed or neglected during the war. More than ten million men had been killed, and as a consequence there was a widespread upset of the old order of employment, and laborers throughout the world began to demand higher wages to meet the higher cost of living and to insist upon shorter hours. In several countries and among some classes in this country there were plans to set up the Russian form of government by the working classes. At the same time there was much profiteering in commerce and industry, and the high wages and big profits of the war period had developed habits of extravagant living among all classes of people.

In the processes of readjustment under these unusual conditions there was much industrial disturbance in the United States in the fall of 1919 and the winter following. There were innumerable labor strikes and several outbreaks of lawlessness. The Federal and state governments used the war powers of restraint pending the final adoption of the treaty of peace, and the sentiment of the people was manifest in their approval of all measures to maintain law and order and to preserve the rights of person and property.

Public Education. In nothing else is the spirit of a people so clearly shown as in their provision for public education. In this respect, as in many others, our country is the foremost in the world. No other nation has so fine a system of primary and secondary public schools, high schools and state colleges and universities, supported mainly by taxation. We have gradually developed a definite graded system extending from the primary depart-

PROGRESS IN RURAL EDUCATION

ment through the high school. Better buildings and equipment have been provided and the school term has been lengthened. The course of study has been enriched by the addition of many subjects, such as music, drawing, agriculture, manual training, domestic science, and laboratory instruction. The importance of play and games both for physical development and for their social and moral

values has come to be recognized, and athletics and other playground activities now have a place on our school programs. The rural schools have been improved and a beginning has been made at consolidation of school districts in order to have better buildings and equipment and better teachers. In the South separate schools have been established for the negroes. The kindergarten has been made a part of the public school system in many states.

A few high schools were established very early in our history, but because of the cost of maintaining them the high school movement grew slowly and education above the grammar grades before the War Between the States was largely in the hands of private academies. Since about 1880 there has been a rapid growth of high schools and there are now over 12,000 in the United States. The standard of these schools has been so raised that a graduate of one of our best high schools today is as well educated as the college man of fifty years ago. Summer schools have been established in order to increase the length of the school year and to secure to the public a greater use of the school plant upon which has been expended in most cases a large amount of public money. Night schools have also been established. They were first designed for children who had to work during the day, but now they are chiefly useful in our large cities for the education of immigrants and adult illiterates. Some of the cities have established special open-air schools for tubercular children. The school grounds are utilized for school gardens as well as for play.

Vocational Education. Agriculture was the first vocational subject to be taught in our schools. Now there are agricultural high schools in several of the states and in many others the law requires this subject to be taught in the high schools and the grammar schools. Trade schools of all

kinds for both boys and girls have been established in the cities. Under the Smith-Hughes Act, which became effective in 1917, Congress created a system of vocational education upon a co-operative plan. Beginning with an aggregate appropriation of $1,860,000 by the Federal government to be duplicated by the states, the sum is to be increased year by year until 1925 when the Federal appropriation will be $7,367,000 and will stand at that figure thereafter. This amount duplicated by the states will make an annual expenditure of nearly $15,000,000 for giving boys and girls instruction in the vocations which they intend to pursue.

Education of Defectives. In the last half century there has developed a greater interest in the education of the wayward and the defective in order that they may become useful members of society. State Industrial Schools, or Reformatories, for the education of the wayward, are to be found in practically all the states. The first state school for the education of the deaf and dumb was established by Kentucky as far back as 1823 and New York and Boston opened schools for the blind in 1832. But it was many years before the education of defectives had gained much headway because of the great difficulty involved in the task. Now there are state institutions for the deaf and dumb and the blind in all our states and some of the cities have special schools for these classes as a part of their public school systems. One of the greatest triumphs of the education of defectives is the case of Helen Keller, who though deaf, dumb, and blind, was taught to read and write and speak. Schools have also been established for the feeble-minded.

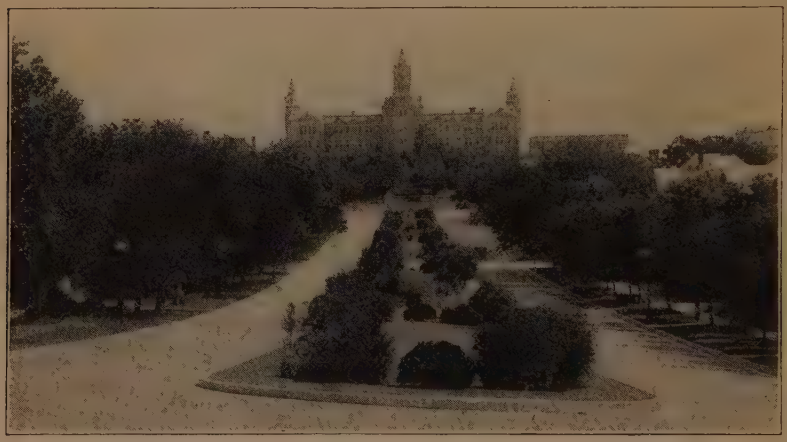
Agricultural and Mechanical Colleges. It was in 1862 during the War Between the States that the Federal Congress

created the system of state colleges for teaching agriculture, the mechanical arts and military science. The object of the act was both to stimulate education in agriculture and the practical arts, and to train young men for possible military duty. Public lands were granted to states that would comply with the terms of the law, and in due course every state provided an institution for the purpose. About the same time Congress created the Federal Department of Agriculture, and later established experiment stations to discover and to test new methods in agriculture.

The Smith-Lever Act. The last of the Federal acts for agricultural betterment was the Smith-Lever Act for agricultural extension which went into effect in 1914. It began by appropriating $10,000 a year each to the land-grant colleges and increasing the aggregate appropriation by $500,000 a year, till the total reaches $4,580,000 which will be appropriated yearly thereafter. Appropriations for agricultural extensions were greatly increased for 1917, 1918, 1919 and 1920, in order to stimulate agricultural production for the war needs and for the period of reconstruction. The gross expenditures for this purpose by the Federal government and the states for the fiscal year 1919-20 was more than $14,000,000. In addition to Federal and state funds, large sums are contributed annually by counties and communities for the employment of county agricultural and home demonstration agents.

Colleges and Universities. In all the states there are normal colleges for the training of teachers; our state universities have entered upon a period of vigorous growth, and endowed universities such as Johns Hopkins, Chicago, Tulane, Stanford, and Rice have been founded. Colleges have been established for women and many of the older universities have now opened their doors to women. The

various religious denominations maintain a number of colleges and universities, and, chiefly through the work of missionaries, American colleges have been established in many foreign lands. Separate normal colleges and other technical schools have been established for negroes. Perhaps the best known of these is Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. The colleges of today are better equipped than ever before and instruction is more thorough, and nowadays the young man or woman who wishes to attend



UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

college is able to do so in spite of poverty, because in most institutions of higher learning there are opportunities for self-support.

The young people of today have more opportunities than were ever presented before in all the world's history for acquiring learning and culture, trades and professions. At public expense they are prepared for intelligent and useful citizenship in order that they may obtain the comforts of life, may be preserved in health and may wisely maintain the great republic of free states which our fathers estab-

lished. Every boy and girl in the United States is thus under an obligation to become a good citizen and to aid in preserving these blessings for the next generation.

Support and Supervision. The public schools are supported for the most part by state taxation. Some idea of the cost of maintaining the schools can be gained from the fact that in 1916 the average expenditure per pupil was $41.72 and there were more than twenty million children enrolled in the public schools of the whole country. But the Federal government has given a great deal to the states for the support of the elementary schools and state universities. Beginning with the admission of Ohio, in 1803, the United States has given the sixteenth section in every township (a plot of land six miles square divided into thirty-six sections each one a mile square) of public land for the support of the common schools and two whole townships as an endowment for a state university. In all, this amounted to about 132,000,000 acres of land, the sale of which has brought something like half a billion dollars. These lands were not granted to the original thirteen states because they owned their public lands, nor to Texas which reserved the ownership of its public domain when it was annexed to the Union, nor to Maine and West Virginia which were cut off from the original states. These states have set apart lands of their own as a permanent school fund. Each state controls its public school system. Compulsory attendance laws have been passed in many of them. The textbooks are prescribed by law in many states and in a number of states free textbooks and other school supplies are furnished. Medical inspection and health supervision have been established in many places. The importance of this was shown by the fact that a number of drafted men were rejected for physical defects

that could easily have been corrected in childhood. The Federal government has exercised some slight supervision over the public schools through the United States Bureau of Education which was created in 1867. There is also provision for Federal supervision as well as Federal aid in the Smith-Lever and Smith-Hughes laws.

Great Teachers. Many great teachers have devoted their lives to the cause of educational advancement. Horace Mann of Massachusetts was one of our first great educational leaders, and although he died just before the War Between the States many of the reforms for which he stood were not realized until long after his death. Dr. Charles William Elliott, for forty years president of Harvard University, has advocated a course of study which would train for useful citizenship. Dr. William T. Harris, United States Commissioner of Education, did a great work in building up a national sentiment for education. W. K. Tate, who was for many years rural school supervisor of South Carolina, and later head of the Department of Rural Education of Peabody College, did much for the advancement of the rural schools of the South.

Philanthropies. A marked feature of our development during the last half century is the increasing tendency of the wealthy men to use their wealth for the public good. Mr. Andrew Carnegie, the great steel manufacturer, said a few years ago that "it was a crime to die rich." By this he meant that the man who acquires riches in a country should employ a large part of his accumulation for some public benefit. In every state and in almost every city there are from time to time large gifts for schools, libraries, hospitals, art galleries, parks, monuments or other objects of benefit or pleasure to the people. Some of the more notable philanthropists in recent times are George

Peabody, John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie and Mrs. Russell Sage.

In 1876, George Peabody, a merchant of Baltimore, established the Peabody Education Fund with a gift of $2,000,000 to aid education in the South. After being employed for various educational purposes, the remainder of the fund was finally used for the endowment of Peabody College at Nashville, Tennessee, for the education and training of teachers.

John D. Rockefeller, the founder and chief owner of the Standard Oil Company, has made many large gifts to education, health, and other objects of human welfare. Beginning in 1902 he gave more than fifty million dollars to the General Education Board for the main purpose of the promotion of practical farming in the South—the first funds used in combating the boll weevil came from this Board—the development of public schools in the South, and higher education throughout the United States. He has given several millions to the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research and many millions more to the Rockefeller Foundation, "to promote the well being of mankind throughout the world." The last named Foundation included the International Health Commission, a commission for combating the hookworm disease, and a commission for the investigation of industrial relations. Its activities included experimentation with serums for the control of meningitis and other dread diseases, Red Cross contributions and missions.

Andrew Carnegie, the steel manufacturer, gave so generously during his lifetime, that at his death, while he did not die poor, he left to his family a comparatively small part of his great wealth. Public libraries in hundreds of towns and cities represent one of his favorite philan-

thropies. He established a Hèro Fund for giving money and medals to persons who exhibit unusual courage in saving life. His Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching furnishes pensions for retiring teachers in universities and colleges. The Carnegie Institute which he endowed with more than twenty millions is devoted to "the improvement of mankind," and includes such activities as botanical research, marine biology, astronomy, solar observations, and nutrition.

The Russell Sage Foundation, established in 1907 by Mrs. Russell Sage, the wife of a New York banker, with gifts of several millions, has aided anti-tuberculosis movements, public recreation movements, the placing and management of children in institutions, medical inspection of children in schools, prevention of blindness and various other similar objects. At her death Mrs. Sage gave the greater part of her remaining fortune to religious, moral, and social undertakings.

Literature. American newspapers and magazines are among the best, and since the war period, every section has been depicted in song and story. Henry Timrod and Sidney Lanier are among the sweet singers of the Southland; James Whitcomb Reilly, the "Hoosier Poet," and Joaquin Miller, the "Poet of the Sierras," hail from the West; and there is a host of others. "Huckleberry Finn" and "Tom Sawyer" have made Mark Twain's delightful humor familiar to every schoolboy. Joel Chandler Harris's "Uncle Remus Stories" are among the treasures of childhood. Thomas Nelson Page, one of our very best writers of negro dialect, is the author of "Marse Chan" and "Meh Lady" and a score or more other stories of Southern life. Bret Harte has written vivid and humorous stories of the "forty-niners" in California, and George W. Cable's stories

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of Creole days in Louisiana are full of freshness and charm. There is a great popular interest in history, and John Fiske, Woodrow Wilson, J. B. McMaster and James Ford Rhodes are among the historians who have told with scholarly ability the story of our glorious past.

Progress in Art. Conservatories of music have been established and American musicians such as Theodore Thomas, the great orchestra director, Ethelbert Nevin, the composer, and many others have become well known to music lovers. In painting Whistler, Sargent, and Abbey take high rank, while the work of the sculptors Valentine, St. Gaudens, Moses Ezekiel, and Daniel French adorn many of our public buildings and parks. The Metropolitan Museum in New York and the Corcoran Art Gallery in Washington are treasure houses of which any nation might well be proud. The American people are beginning to beautify their cities with attractive parks, broad avenues, well-paved streets and magnificent buildings. The Chicago postoffice and the Texas State Capitol are splendid examples of architecture, and the National Capitol at Washington ranks among the finest buildings of the world. There are other magnificent buildings in Washington, and the straggling little village on the Potomac, where Thomas Jefferson took the oath of office in 1801, has grown to be one of the most beautiful of cities.

American Life. The inventions and devices for comfort and conveniences have completely changed our mode of life and have given people more time for rest and recreation than they have ever known before. The Americans love the open air and outdoor sports form a large part of our amusements. Great crowds gather at the football games of the autumn and the baseball games of the spring and summer. Moving picture shows have become very

popular and because of their cheapness give pleasure to a great number of people. We have a high standard of living, and taking it all around, we have better homes, better food, and better clothes than the people of other nations. No other people seem to be actuated by a greater sense of service to their fellow man.

American Achievement. Every American feels a just pride in the achievements of our country. Beginning with a little straggling group of states along the Atlantic seaboard, we have pushed on step by step conquering and civilizing the wilderness as we went until we reached our ocean boundaries on the west, and then reached out to the islands of the sea. From a little weak federation of jealous states we have built up a strong nation of united sections bound together by common interests, common ideals and a common patriotism. Finally, we have developed into one of the foremost powers of the world. We have made a nation of many races and these have been blended together into one type, the vigorous, aggressive, resourceful American. The very cornerstone of American liberty and government is a belief in the rule of the people, and with the growth of territory has gone the spread and development of democracy. We have shown the world that a government such as ours will work for a vast population and a vast territory. Our political ideals we have passed on to other nations, and we have fought a war to make the world safe for the democracy which we have created and to aid the oppressed peoples of the earth.

But we must "love our land for what she is and for what she is to be." The world is still more or less upset as the aftermath of the war and our own country faces many new problems of international relation and domestic policy. The future cannot be foretold; change, progress

is the rule of nations and of social and political life. Conditions may become worse before they become better, but the authors here record their unshaken faith in the essential principles of the American republic. We believe it will endure and that the American people will presently pass from this short period of unrest and strife into a longer period of liberty under the law, of prosperity wrought by industry and economy, and of happiness growing out of equal and uniform justice. To this end we appeal to the courageous patriotism of the student readers of this history soon to come into responsible citizenship, and upon them we invoke the guidance and blessing of the God of our fathers.

"I love thine inland seas,
Thy groves and giant trees,
Thy rolling plains;
Thy rivers' mighty sweep,
Thy mystic cañons deep,
Thy mountains wild and steep,
All thy domains.

Thy silver eastern strands,
Thy Golden Gate that stands
Afront the west;
Thy flowery Southland fair,
Thy sweet and crystal air—
O land beyond compare,
I love thee best."

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

1. Some historians call attention to the movement of population from small communities to the great cities, as in part a reversal of the westward movement. Explain.

2. What good governmental result has come of the Galveston flood?

3. How has wireless telegraphy already been an untold blessing to humanity?

4. Make a list of great inventions that were made by Americans. If you have a school library, find out something of the inventors.

5. How many years from the first crossing of the Atlantic by steamboat to the first crossing by aeroplane?

6. Do you belong to an agricultural club? What benefits do you derive from it?

7. What tree furnishes most of the lumber used in your county? What kind of shingles do you use?

8. What benefits will come from celebrating Arbor Day?

9. In what ways have we wasted fuel?

10. How do good roads aid in the consolidation of rural schools?

11. Why is tax money devoted to maintaining public play grounds?

12. What kind of education do you think is most needed by the boys and girls in your community?

13. What does the country owe to its boys and girls? What do the boys and girls owe to their country?

SUGGESTED READINGS

Wilson, *Division and Reunion*

Sparks, *National Development* and *Expansion of the American People*

Dewey, *National Problems*

Latane, *America a World Power*

Hart, *National Ideals Historically Traced* and *Source Readers*

Ogg, *National Problems*

McKinley, Coulomb, and Gerson, *A School History of the Great War*

Bishop and Keller, *Industry and Trade*

Cubberly, *Public Education in the United States*

Riis, *How the Other Half Lives*

Wister, *The Virginian*

Otis, *Boys of '98*

Austin, *Britain's Tribute to America*

Frothingham, *War Facts and Problems.*

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

LIST OF THE PRESIDENTS

No.	President.	State.	Term of Office.	By whom elected.
1	George Washington	Virginia	Two terms; 1789-1797	Whole people
2	John Adams	Massachusetts	One term; 1797-1801	Federalists
3	Thomas Jefferson	Virginia	Two terms; 1801-1809	Democratic-Republicans
4	James Madison	Virginia	Two terms; 1809-1817	Democratic-Republicans
5	James Monroe	Virginia	Two terms; 1817-1825	Democratic-Republicans
6	John Quincy Adams	Massachusetts	One term; 1825-1829	House of Rep.
7	Andrew Jackson	Tennessee	Two terms; 1829-1837	Democrats
8	Martin Van Buren	New York	One term; 1837-1841	Democrats
9	William H. Harrison*	Ohio	One month; 1841	Whigs
10	John Tyler	Virginia	3 years and 11 months; 1841-1845	Whigs
11	James K. Polk	Tennessee	One term; 1845-1849	Democrats
12	Zachary Taylor*	Louisiana	1 year and 4 months; 1849, 1850	Whigs
13	Millard Fillmore	New York	2 years and 8 months; 1850-1853	Whigs
14	Franklin Pierce	N. Hampshire	One term; 1853-1857	Democrats
15	James Buchanan	Pennsylvania	One term; 1857-1861	Democrats
16	Abraham Lincoln*	Illinois	One term and 6 weeks; 1861-1865	Republicans
17	Andrew Johnson	Tennessee	3 years and 10½ months; 1865-1869	Republicans
18	Ulysses S. Grant	Illinois	Two terms; 1869-1877	Republicans
19	Rutherford B. Hayes	Ohio	One term; 1877-1881	Republicans
20	James A. Garfield*	Ohio	Six months and 15 days	Republicans
21	Chester A. Arthur	New York	3 years, 5 mos., 15 days; 1881-1885	Republicans
22	Grover Cleveland	New York	One term; 1885-1889	Democrats
23	Benjamin Harrison	Indiana	One term; 1889-1893	Republicans
22	Grover Cleveland	New York	One term; 1893-1897	Democrats
24	William McKinley*	Ohio	One term and 6 months; 1897-1901	Republicans
25	Theodore Roosevelt	New York	3 years, 6 mos., one term; 1901-1909	Republicans
26	William H. Taft	Ohio	One term; 1909-1913	Republicans
27	Woodrow Wilson	New Jersey	Two terms; 1913-1921	Democrats
28	Warren G. Harding	Ohio	1921	Republicans

*Died in office.

IMPORTANT DATES IN AMERICAN HISTORY

1492. The New World discovered by Columbus.
1497. The Continent of North America discovered by Cabot.
1513. Balboa's discovery of the Pacific.
1519–22. First circumnavigation of the Globe by Magellan.
1541. De Soto discovers the Mississippi River.
1565. The first permanent settlement in the United States made by the Spaniards at St. Augustine, Florida.
1588. Destruction of the Armada.
1607. The first permanent English settlement in the United States made at Jamestown, Virginia.
1619. Representative government established in the English Colony of Virginia.
1619. Slavery introduced into the English Colony of Virginia.
1620. The second permanent English settlement established at Plymouth, Massachusetts.
1635. First endowment fund for education in Virginia.
1636. The first college in the United States at Harvard, Mass.
1643. Formation of the New England Confederation.
1664. The English seized New Netherlands.
1685. Forced union under Andros.
1689. Glorious Revolution in America.
1732. Georgia, the last of the Thirteen British colonies founded by Oglethorpe.
(2) Birth of George Washington.
1759. Capture of Quebec.
1763. Peace of Paris, ceding to the British the French possessions in America.
1763. Henry's Speech or the Parson's Case.
1765. Parliament passed the Stamp Act.
1768. Townshend Acts.
1771. The Battle of Alamance.
1774. The Intolerable Acts.
1775–81. War of the Revolution.
1775. Battle of Bunker Hill.
1776. Declaration of Independence.
1781. Cornwallis surrenders at Yorktown.

1781. Ratification of the Articles of Confederation.
1783. Treaty of Paris, making peace between the United States and Great Britain.
1787. Constitution of the United States drawn up by convention.
1789. Washington inaugurated first President of the United States.
1793. Whitney invented the Cotton Gin.
1803. Louisiana territory purchased from France.
1807. Fulton's steamboat made a successful trip.
1812–15. War with Great Britain.
1813. Battle of Lake Erie.
1814. Battle of Lake Champlain.
1815. Battle of New Orleans.
1819. Purchase of Florida.
1820. Missouri Compromise between free and slave states.
1823. Monroe Doctrine announced.
1828. First steam railroad.
1844. First telegraph line established by Morse.
1845. Annexation of Texas.
1846–48. War with Mexico.
1846. Battle of Buena Vista.
1847. March to Mexico City.
1848. Mexican cession of territory.
1850. Compromise of 1850 between free and slave states.
1854. Kansas-Nebraska Bill.
1857. Dred Scot Decision.
1861–65. War between the States.
1862. Monitor and Merrimac fight, the first battle between iron-clad vessels.
1863. Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. (2) Battle of Gettysburg. (3) Surrender of Vicksburg.
1865. Surrender of Lee at Appomattox.
1865. Thirteenth Amendment declared in force.
1866. Tennessee readmitted to the Union.
1867. Purchase of Alaska.
1868. Fourteenth Amendment ratified. (2) North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Alabama readmitted.
1869. First transcontinental railway completed.
1870. Fifteenth Amendment ratified. (2) Texas, Mississippi, and Virginia readmitted.
1898. War with Spain.
Battle of Manila.
Defeat of Cervera's fleet at Santiago de Cuba.

1900. Galveston destroyed by tornado.
1901. Oklahoma and Indian Territory admitted as the state of Oklahoma.
Aguinaldo captured.
Marconi signalled the letter "S" across the Atlantic Ocean.
President McKinley shot by Leon Czolgosz,
Hay-Pauncefote Canal treaty ratified.
China Exclusion bill passed.
1902. Isthmian Canal Act.
Laying of Pacific cable begun.
Cuban Republic inaugurated.
Alaska boundary treaty ratified.
1903. Panama Canal property bought by the United States.
1904. Baltimore fire.
1905. Peace of Portsmouth.
San Francisco earthquake and fire.
1907. Second Peace Conference at The Hague.
Cruise of battle fleet around the world begun.
1908. Postage between the United States and Great Britain reduced to 2 cents.
1909. Commander Robert E. Peary reached the North Pole.
The United States relinquished control of Cuba.
1910. Atlantic fisheries dispute settled by The Hague.
Revolution in Mexico broke out.
1911. Captain Amundsen reached the South Pole.
Canadian reciprocity bill passed by Congress, signed by President Taft but rejected by Canada.
Porfirio Diaz forced to resign the presidency of Mexico.
Postal banks established in the United States.
1912. New Mexico and Arizona admitted as states.
Woodrow Wilson elected President of the United States.
Titanic steamship sunk.
1913. Sixteenth amendment to the Constitution providing for income taxes was ratified.
Seventeenth amendment to the Constitution providing for direct election of United States Senators was ratified.
Labor Department created.
Peace Palace at The Hague was dedicated.
Underwood-Simmons tariff act was passed.
Currency law passed.
Parcel post law passed.
1914. Panama Canal opened.
World War began.
American soldiers take Vera Cruz.
1915. The Lusitania was sunk.

1916. Villa raided Columbus, New Mexico and killed seventeen persons.
American troops invaded Mexico in pursuit of Villa.
President Wilson called out the National Guard and sent many of them to the Mexican border.

1917. United States entered the World War.
Selective Draft Act passed and training camps established.

1918. American soldiers land in France and take part in battles of Chateau Thierry and Argonne Forest.
Armistice signed in November.

1919. Theodore Roosevelt died.
Peace Conference at Paris and Versailles.
Peace treaties with Germany and with Austria signed.
Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution providing for the prohibition of intoxicating liquors ratified.
Race riots in Washington, D. C., Chicago, and Omaha.
First successful flight across the Atlantic by airship was made by the NC4 of the U. S. Navy.

1920. Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution providing for woman's suffrage ratified.
Railroads, telephone and telegraph lines returned to owners by the Government.

UNITED STATES AND ITS POSSESSIONS

States	Settled	Capital	Area	Census Following Admission	Population 1920.	How Acquired	Representatives in Congress 1913
Virginia	1607	Richmond	42,450	747,610	2,309,187	One of Original Thirteen States	10
New York.....	1613	Albany	49,170	340,120	10,384,829	One of Original Thirteen States	43
Massachusetts ..	1620	Boston	8,315	475,327	3,852,356	One of Original Thirteen States	16
New Hampshire	1623	Concord	9,305	141,885	443,083	One of Original Thirteen States	2
Connecticut	1633	Hartford	4,990	237,946	1,380,631	One of Original Thirteen States	5
Maryland	1634	Annapolis	12,210	319,728	1,449,610	One of Original Thirteen States	6
Rhode Island...	1636	Providence	1,250	68,825	604,397	One of Original Thirteen States	3
Delaware	1638	Dover	2,050	59,096	223,003	One of Original Thirteen States	1
North Carolina.	1653	Raleigh	52,250	393,751	2,559,123	One of Original Thirteen States	10
New Jersey.....	1664	Trenton	7,815	184,139	3,155,900	One of Original Thirteen States	12
South Carolina.	1670	Columbia	30,570	249,073	1,683,724	One of Original Thirteen States	7
Pennsylvania ...	1682	Harrisburg	45,215	434,373	8,720,017	One of Original Thirteen States	36
Georgia	1733	Atlanta	59,475	82,548	2,895,832	One of Original Thirteen States	12
	Admitted to Union						
Vermont	1791	Montpelier	9,565	154,465	352,428	Territory claimed by N. Y. and N. H.	2
Kentucky	1792	Frankfort	40,000	220,955	2,416,630	Ceded by Virginia	11
Tennessee	1796	Nashville	41,750	105,602	2,337,885	Ceded by North Carolina	10
Ohio	1803	Columbus	40,760	230,760	5,759,394	Northwest Territory	22
Louisiana	1812	Baton Rouge	45,420	153,407	1,798,509	Louisiana Purchase	8
Indiana	1816	Indianapolis	35,910	141,178	2,930,390	Northwest Territory	13
Mississippi	1817	Jackson	46,340	75,448	1,790,618	Ceded by S. Carolina & Georgia	8
Illinois	1818	Springfield	56,000	55,221	6,485,280	Northwest Territory	27
Alabama	1819	Montgomery	51,540	127,901	2,348,174	Ceded by S. Carolina & Georgia	10
Maine	1820	Augusta	29,895	298,335	768,014	Ceded by Massachusetts	4
Missouri	1821	Jefferson City	68,735	66,557	3,404,055	Louisiana Purchase	16
Arkansas	1836	Little Rock	53,045	97,574	1,752,204	Louisiana Purchase	7
Michigan	1837	Lansing	57,430	212,267	3,668,412	Northwest Territory	13
Florida	1845	Tallahasse	54,240	87,445	968,470	Spanish Cession	4
Texas	1845	Austin	262,290	212,592	4,663,228	By annexation	18

Iowa	1846	Des Moines	55,475	192,214	2,404,021	Louisiana Purchase	11
Wisconsin	1848	Madison	54,450	305,391	2,632,067	Northwest Territory	11
California	1850	Sacramento	155,980	92,574	3,426,861	Mexican Cession	11
Minnesota	1858	St Paul	79,205	172,023	2,387,125	N. W. Territory & La. Purchase	10
Oregon	1859	Salem	94,560	52,465	783,389	Oregon Country	3
Kansas	1861	Topeka	81,700	364,399	1,769,257	Louisiana Purchase	8
West Virginia...	1863	Charleston	24,645	442,014	1,463,701	Formed from Virginia	6
Nevada	1864	Carson City	109,740	42,491	77,407	Mexican Cession	1
Nebraska	1867	Lincoln	76,840	122,993	1,296,372	Louisiana Purchase	6
Colorado	1876	Denver	103,645	194,327	839,629	La. Purchase & Mex. Cession	4
North Dakota ..	1889	Bismarck	70,195	182,719	645,680	Louisiana Purchase	3
South Dakota ..	1889	Pierre	76,850	328,808	636,547	Louisiana Purchase	3
Montana	1889	Helena	145,310	132,159	548,889	Louisiana Purchase	2
Washington ...	1889	Olympia	66,880	349,390	1,356,621	Oregon Country	5
Idaho	1890	Boise	84,290	84,385	431,866	Oregon Country	2
Wyoming	1890	Cheyenne	97,575	60,705	194,402	La. Purchase & Mex. Cession	1
Utah	1896	Salt Lake City	82,190	276,749	449,396	Mexican Cession	2
Oklahoma	1907	Oklahoma City	69,830	398,331	2,028,283	Louisiana Purchase	8
New Mexico....	1911	Santa Fe	122,460	327,301	360,350	Mexican Cession	1
Arizona	1911	Phœnix	112,929	204,354	333,903	Mexican Cession	1
Territories.....	Organized						
Alaska	1868	Juneau	590,884		54,899	Purchase from Russia	
Hawaii	1900	Honolulu	6,449		255,912	By annexation	
Dependencies							
Porto Rico	Under civil government		3,606		1,299,809	Spanish Cession	
Philippines	Under civil government		127,853		10,350,640	Spanish Cession	

The Original Thirteen States ratified the Constitution as follows: Delaware, 1787; Pennsylvania, 1787; New Jersey, 1787; Georgia, 1788; Connecticut, 1788; Massachusetts, 1788; Maryland, 1788; South Carolina, 1788; New Hampshire, 1788; Virginia, 1788; New York, 1788; North Carolina, 1789; Rhode Island, 1790.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.[1]

In Congress July 4, 1776.

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.—Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

[1] The original copy of the Declaration of Independence, which was signed at Philadelphia, is kept at the Department of State, Washington, District of Columbia. The writing is much faded, and some of the signatures have nearly disappeared.

The arrangement of paragraphs here adopted follows the copy in the Journals of Congress, printed by John Dunlap, which agrees with Jefferson's original draft. No names of states appear in the original though the names of each state are together, except that the signature of Matthew Thornton, New Hampshire, follows that of Oliver Wolcott, Connecticut.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harrass our People, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free People.

Nor have We been wanting in attention to our Brittish brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States;

that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.

New Hampshire:
Josiah Bartlett.
Wm. Whipple.
Matthew Thornton.

Massachusetts Bay:
Saml. Adams.
John Adams.
Robt. Treat Paine.
Elbridge Gerry.

Rhode Island, Etc.:
Step. Hopkins.
William Ellery.

Connecticut:
Roger Sherman.
Sam'el Huntington.
Wm. Williams.
Oliver Wolcott.

New York:
Wm. Floyd.
Phil. Livingston.
Frans. Lewis.
Lewis Morris.

New Jersey:
Richd. Stockton.
Jno. Witherspoon.
Fras. Hopkinson.
John Hart.
Abra. Clark.

Pennsylvania:
Robt. Morris.
Benjamin Rush.
Benja. Franklin.
John Morton.
Geo. Clymer.
Jas. Smith.
Geo. Taylor.
James Wilson.
Geo. Ross.

Delaware:
Cæsar Rodney.
Geo. Read.
Tho. McKean.

Maryland:
Samuel Chase.
Wm. Paca.
Thos. Stone.
Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

Virginia:
George Wythe.
Richard Henry Lee.
Th. Jefferson.
Benja. Harrison.
Thos. Nelson, jr.
Francis Lightfoot Lee.
Carter Braxton.

North Carolina:
Wm. Hooper.
Joseph Hewes.
John Penn.

South Carolina:
Edward Rutledge.
Thos. Heyward, Junr.
Thomas Lynch, Junr.
Arthur Middleton.

Georgia:
Button Gwinnett.
Lyman Hall.
Geo. Walton.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES*

We the People of the United States, in order to form a more peffect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.—Section 1.—All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives.

Section 2.—1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

2. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative: and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three; Massachusetts, eight; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, one; Connecticut, five; New York, six; New Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, eight; Delaware, one; Maryland, six; Virginia, ten; North Carolina, five; South Carolina, five; and Georgia, three.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

* The original spelling in the Constitution is retained, but not the original capitalization.

5. The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION 3.—[1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.]*

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year; and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall chuse their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried the Chief-Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and the disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

SECTION 4.—1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of chusing Senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

* This paragraph was superseded by the XVII Amendment.

SECTION 5.—1. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

2. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds expel a member.

3. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6.—1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person, holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SECTION 7.—1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections to that house in which it shall have originated who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But

in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION 8.—The Congress shall have power:

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3. To regulate the commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7. To establish post offices and post roads;

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive rights to their respective writings and discoveries;

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations;

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12. To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13. To provide and maintain a navy;

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings;—and

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION 9.—1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7. No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION 10. No State shall enter into any treaty alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships-of-war, in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.—SECTION 1.—1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows:

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

[3. The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who shall have such majority and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall, in like manner, chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members

from two-thirds of the States and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by ballot the Vice-President.]*

4. The Congress may determine the time of chusing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President declaring what officer shall then act as President and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be encreased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have peen elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION 2.—1. The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offiences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Seate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States,

* This paragraph was superseded by the XII Amendment.

whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION 3.—He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION 4.—The President, Vice-President and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.—SECTION 1.—The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION 2.—1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority;—to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls;—to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction;—to controversies to which the United States shall be a party;—to controversies between two or more States;—between a State and citizens of another State;—between citizens of different States;—between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all other cases before mentioned the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury: and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes

shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION 3.—1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attained.

ARTICLE IV.—SECTION 1.—Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION 2.—1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION 3.—1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.—1. The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or,

on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by tne Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.—1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.—The ratification of the conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

DONE in convention by the unanimous consent of the States present the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth.

AMENDMENTS

ARTICLE I.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.—A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.—No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any

house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.—The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.—No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor to be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.—In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII.—In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of common law.

ARTICLE VIII.—Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.—The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.—The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.*

ARTICLE XI.—The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.†

ARTICLE XII.—The electors shall meet in their respective States, and

* The first ten amendments went into effect Nov. 3, 1791.
† In effect Jan. 8, 1798.

vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—the person having the greatst number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.*

ARTICLE XIII.—SECTION 1.—Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION 2.—Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.†

ARTICLE XIV.—SECTION 1.—All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make

* In effect Sept. 25, 1804. † In effect Dec. 18, 1865.

or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2.—Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION 3.—No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

SECTION 4.—The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5.—The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.*

ARTICLE XV.—SECTION 1.—The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2.—Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.†

* In effect July 28, 1868. † In effect March 30, 1870.

ARTICLE XVI.—The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.*

ARTICLE XVII.—The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointment until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any senator chosen before it becomes valid as a part of the Constitution.†

ARTICLE XVIII.—SECTION 1.—After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

SECTION 2.—The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

SECTION 3.—This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.‡

ARTICLE XIX.—SECTION 1.—The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

SECTION 2.—Congress shall have power by appropriate legislation to enforce the provisions of this article.§

* In effect February 24, 1913.
† In effect May 31, 1913.
‡ In effect January, 1919.
§ In effect August, 1920.

Acadia (ȧ-kā′dĭ-ȧ)
Agassiz (ăg′ȧ-sē)
Aguinaldo (ä′gē-näl′dō)
Alamo (ä′lä-mō)
Algonquin (ăl-gŏn′kĭn)
Allies (ă-līz′)
Amundsen (ä′mŭn-sĕn)
Andre (än′drȧ)
Andros (ăn′drŏs)
Antietam (ăn-tē′tăm)
Aquidneck (ȧ-kwĭd′nĕk)
Arbuthnot (är-bŭth′nŏt)
Argonne (är′gŏn′)
Arista (ä-rēs′tä)
Arkansas (är′kăn-sô)
Armada (är-mä′dȧ)
Armistice (är′mĭ-stĭs)
Audubon (ô-dō̆′bŏn)
Aztec (ăz′tĕk)

Bahama (bȧ-hä′mȧ)
Balboa (bäl-bō′ȧ)
Baltimore (bôl′tĭ-mōr)
Beauregard (bō′rē-gärd)
Behring (bā′rĭng)
Belleau (bĕl-lō′)
Bessemer (bĕs′ĕ-mēr)
Bienville (bwăn′vēl′)
Bolsheviki (bōl′shĕ-vĕ-kē′)
Buena Vista (bwā-nä vēs′-tä)
Burgoyne (bûr-goin′)

Cabeza de Vaca (kä-bā′thä dā vä′kä)
Canonicus (kȧ-nŏn′ĭ-kŭs)
Cantigny (kän-tēn′yē′)
Carnegie (kär-nĕg′ĭ)
Carranza (kär-rän′thä)
Caribbean (kăr-ĭ-bē′ȧn)
Carteret (kär′tĕr-ĕt)
Cartier (kär′tyā′)
Cavite (kä-vē′tä)
Cerro Gordo (sĕr′ō-gôr′dō)
Cervera (thĕr-vā′rä)
Chateau Thierry (shä′tō′ tyĕ′rē′)
Chicamauga (chĭk′ȧ-mô′gȧ)
Chile (chē′lā)
Cibola (sē′bŏ-lȧ)
Corcoran (kôr′kŏ-rȧn)
Coronado (kō′rō-nä′dō)
Credit Mobilier (krā′dē-mō-bē′lyȧ)
Cortez (kôr′tĕz)
Czolgosz (shŏl′gŏsh)

Daguerre (dȧ′gâr′)
Daiquiri (dī′kĕ-rē′)
De Kalb (dē-kălb′)
Diaz (dē′ăs)
Du Quesne (dō̆ō-kān′)

El Caney (ĕl-kȧ′nā)
Ericson (ĕr′ĭk-sŭn)
Ericsson (ĕr′ĭk-sŭn)

Faneuil (făn″l)
Farragut (făr′ȧ-gŭt)
Foch (fŏsh)
Forbes (fôrbz)
Frobisher (frŏb′ĭsh-ēr)
Frontenac (frŏn′tē-năk)
Funston (fŭn-stŭn)

Galveston (găl′vĕs-tŭn)
Garcia (gär-thē′ä)
Genet (zhē-nĕ′)
Goethals (gō′thălz)
Gomez (gō′mās)
Gorgas (gôr′gȧs)
Gourges de (dē-gō̆ōrg)
Grasse de (dē-grās)
Guadaloupe (gō′dē-lō̆ōp′)
Guam (gwäm)
Guanahani (gwä′nä-hä′nē)

Hague (hāg)
Haig (hāg)
Huerta (wĕr′tä)
Huger (ū-jē′)
Huguenots (hū′gē-nŏt)

Iroquois (ĭr′ō-kwoi)
Iuka (ī-ū′kȧ)

Jaurez (hwä′rās)
Java (jä′vȧ)
Jerusalem (jē-rō̆ō′sȧ-lĕm)
Joffre (zhŏ′fr)
Joliet (zhō′lyā′)

Kerenzki (kĕr′ĕn-skē)
Keye (kē)
Kosciusko (kŏs′ĭ-ŭs′kō)

Lafayette (lä′fȧ-yĕt′)
Lanier (lȧ-nēr′)
La Salle (lȧ-sȧl′)
Las Guasimas (läs-gwäs′ē-mäs)
Le Conte (lĕ kŏnt′)
Leisler (līs′lēr)

Liliuokalani (lē'lē-ōō-ō-kä-lä'nē)
Louisiana (lōō-ē'zē-ăn'ȧ)
Lusitania (lū'sĭ-tā'nĭ-ȧ)
Luzon (lōō-zŏn')

Madero (mą-dā'rō)
Magellan (mȧ-jĕl'ăn)
Marne (märn)
Marquette (mär-ket')
Matamoras (măt'ȧ-mō-rȧs)
Meigs (mĕgz)
Menendez (mā-nĕn'dāth)
Mobile (mō-bēl')
Montcalm (mŏnt-kăm')
Monterey (mŏn'tĕ-rā')
Montojo (mŏn'tō-hō')

Narvaez (när-vä'ăth)
Nevada (nē-vä'dȧ)
New Orleans (nū-ôr'lē-ănz)
Nez Perces (nā-per'sāz)
Niagara (nī-ăg'ȧ-rȧ)
Nicaragua (nĭk'ȧ-rä'gwa)
Nina (nēn'yä)
Nueces (nū-ā'sās)

Obregon (ō'brĕ-gŏn)
Oglethorpe (ō'g'l-thôrp)
Oklahoma (ō'klȧ-hō'mȧ)
Olustee (ō-lŭs'tē)
Opechancanough (ō'pĕ-kăn-kä'nō)
Oriskany (ō-rĭs'kȧ-nĭ)
Osceola (ŏs'ē-ō'lȧ)
Ottawas (ăt'ȧ-wȧz')

Palmito (päl-mē'tó)
Palos (pä'lōs)
Pasha (pȧ-shä')
Pequot (pē'qwŏt)
Petain (pā'tăn')
Philippine (fĭl'ĭ-pĭn)
Piave (pyä'vā)
Picardy (pĭk'ȧr-dĭ)
Pinta (pēn'tä)
Pinzon (pēn-thōn')
Pizarra (pĭ-zär'rō)
Pitcairn (pĭt'kârn)
Pocahontas (pō'kȧ-hŏn'tȧs)
Ponce de Leon (pōn'thā-dā-lā-ăn')
Porto Rico (pōr'tō-rē'kō)
Powhatan (pou'ȧ-tăn')
Prevost (prĕ-vō')
Pueblo (pwĕb'lō)
Pulaski (pû-lăs'kĭ)

Quebec (kwĕ-bĕk')

Raleigh (rô'lĭ)
Reina Christina (rā-ē'nȧ-krĭs-tē'nȧ)
Renaissance (rĕ-nā'sŏns)
Resaca de la Palma (rā-sä'kä-dā-lä-päl'mä)
Rio Grande (rē'ō-grän'dā)
Rochambeau (rō'shän'bō)
Roosevelt (rō'zĕ-vĕlt)
Rosecrans (rō'zĕ-krănz)
Rush-Bagot (rŭsh'băg'ŏt)

St. Gaudens (sănt-gô'dĕnz)
St. Leger (sănt lĕg'ĕr)
St. Louis (sănt-lōō'ĭs)
St. Mihiel (săn'mē'yĕl')
Samoa (sä'mō-ä)
Samoset (săm'ō-sĕt)
San Juan (săn-hwän')
Santa Fe (săn'tȧ-fā')
Santa Maria (săn'tȧ-mȧ-rē'ȧ)
Santiago (sän'tē-ä'gō)
Schley (slī)
Schuyler (skī'lĕr)
Semmes (sĕmz)
Serapis (sĕ-rā'pĭs)
Sevier (sĕ-vēr')
Seymour (sē'mōr)
Sioux (sōō)
Squanto (skwän'tō)
Steuben (stû-bĕn')
Stuyvesant (stī'vĕ-sănt)

Tecumseh (tē-kŭm'sĕ)
Ticonderoga (tī-kŏn'dĕr-ō'gȧ)
Tomochichi (tŏm'ŏ-chē'chĭ)
Tripoli (trĭp'ŏ-lĭ)
Tuscaroras (tŭs'kȧ-rô'rȧs)
Tyron (tī'rŏn)

Utrecht (ū'trĕkt)

Van Rensselaer (văn-rĕn'sē-lĕr)
Vasco da Gama (văs'kō-dä-gä'mä)
Venezuela (vĕn'ĕ-zwē'lȧ)
Vera Cruz (vā'rä-krōōs')
Verdun (vĕr'dūn')
Verrazano (vĕr'rät-sä'nō)
Vespucius (vĕs-pōōt'chĕ)
Villa (vēl'yä)
Vincennes (vĭn-sĕnz')

Wampanoags (wŏm'pȧ-nō'ăgz)
Weyler (wā'lĕr)
Whitefield (whĭt'fēld)
Wickyup (wĭk'ĭ-ŭp)

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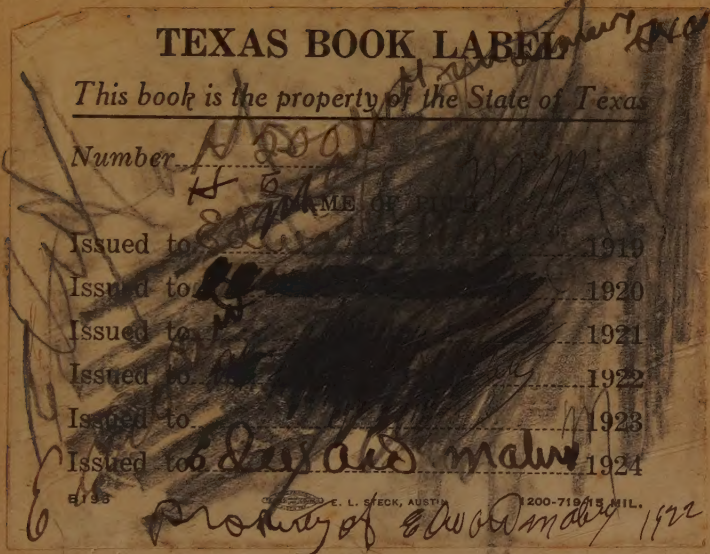

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